

THE LIFE AND WORK OF HUGH WILLIAM WILLIAMS
[1773-1829]
SET WITHIN A SCOTTISH CONTEXT.

*With a Catalogue of Works in Public Collections
and
A Catalogue of all known Prints by and after the Artist.*

In Two Volumes.

VOL. I.

by Joseph Rock.



Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.
University of Edinburgh.
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DECLARATION.

I declare that this Thesis and the attached Catalogue are entirely my own work.

Joe Rock,

21st October 1997.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

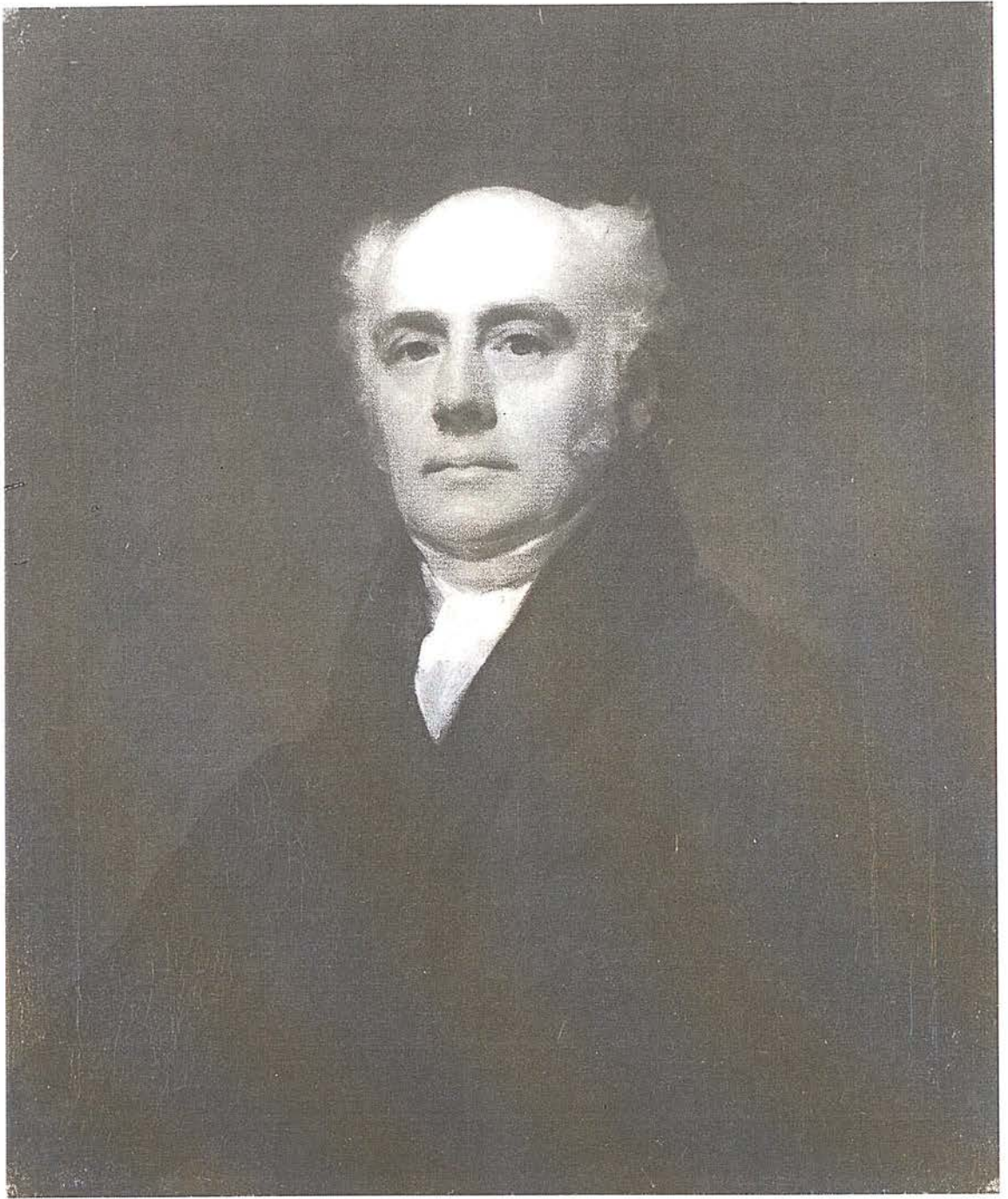
For Michael Clayton and James Claydon.

The author would like to acknowledge his debt of gratitude to the large number of people who assisted in the production of this thesis. It is not possible to list them all, and indeed many will not even know that they contributed. To those that do, I hope that they will accept my thanks if ever they read this.

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Frontispiece. RAEBURN, Henry: Oil on canvas, Portrait of Hugh Williams [c.1822, NPG].

CONTENTS.

VOLUME I.	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.	
Frontispiece.	
CONTENTS.	
ABBREVIATIONS.	
ABSTRACT.	1
INTRODUCTION.	3
a. A Short Biography of Hugh Williams.	6
b. Chronology of Known Events.	11
c. Review of the Literature.	16
Published Sources.	16
Manuscripts.	24
CHAPTER 1. BIOGRAPHY OF HUGH WILLIAMS.	
1:1 The Early Years, 1773-1804.	30
1:2 Education and Training, 1782-1800.	37
1:2.1. David Allan [1744-1796].	38
1:2.2. Alexander Nasmyth [1758-1840].	43
1:2.3. John Graham [1754-1817].	48
1:2.4. Major D' Asti and the Military Academy.	49
1:3 Acting and Scene Painting, 1790-1800.	52
1:4 Teaching and Pupils, 1793-1820.	57
1:4.1. Lady Jane Margaret Douglas.	58
1:4.2. The Forbes-Drummond Album.	59

1:4.3. Sir Thomas Dick Lauder [1784-1848].	60
1:4.4. James Stevenson [1780-1844].	61
1:4.5. The Newliston Screen.	61
1:4.6. John and Jessy Harden.	62
1:4.7. William Douglas [?1784-1821].	63
1:4.8. George Basevi [1794-1845].	63
1:4.9. Countess Flauhault.	65
1:4.10. Rev. William MacGregor Stirling.	65
1:4.11. Helen Graham.	66
1:5 Exhibitions, 1807-1829.	69
1:5.1. Associated Artists, London.	71
1:5.2. Associated Artists, Edinburgh.	74
1:5.3. Individual Exhibitions.	77
1:5.4. The Royal Institution, Scotland.	78
1:6 The Grand Tour, 1816-1818.	81
1:7 The National Monument, 1819-1829.	93
1:8 The Final Years and Aftermath, 1826-1874.	100

CHAPTER 2. HUGH WILLIAMS AT WORK, 1792-1829.

2:1 Introduction.	120
2:2 Difficulties in Discussing the Work.	121
2:2.1. Terminology.	121
2:2.2. Terminology and Williams.	122
2:2.3. Fading.	124
2:3 Watercolours.	127
2:3.1 Introduction.	127
2:3.2. Methods.	127
2:3.3. Criticism of Colouring.	137
2:3.3. Early Watercolours, 1792-1800.	140

2:3.4. Transitional Watercolours, 1800-1816.	144
2:3.5. The Grand Tour, 1816-1818.	151
2:3.6. Exhibition Watercolours, 1818-1829.	153
2:4 Drawings.	157
2:4.1. Drawing Types.	158
2:5 Oil Paintings.	164
2:6 Summary.	166

CHAPTER 3. HUGH WILLIAMS AND PRINTMAKING.

3:1. Introduction.	171
3:2. Prints by the Artist.	174
3:2.1. <u>Etchings of Local Subjects.</u>	174
3:3. Prints after Williams, Made and Published by Others.	177
3:3.1. Stoddart's <u>Remarks on Local Scenery.</u>	178
3:3.2. <u>The Scots Magazine.</u>	178
3:3.3. Walter Scott's <u>Provincial Antiquities.</u>	180
3:4. Prints after Williams, Made under his Supervision.	182
3:4.1. Six Aquatints of Highland Scenery.	182
3:4.2. <u>The Select Views in Greece.</u>	183
3:4.3. <u>Edinburgh from Arthur's Seat.</u>	195

CHAPTER 4. HUGH WILLIAMS IN CONTEXT.

4:1. Introduction.	200
4: 2 Hugh Williams and the Scottish Tradition	202
4:2.1. Paul Sandby.	204
4:2.2. Paul Sandby's Scottish Etchings.	207
4:2.3. Paul Sandby's Scottish Watercolours.	208
4:2.4. Margaret Adam [1731-1812].	210
4:2.5. Jacob More [?1740-1793].	211

CHAPTER 5. HUGH WILLIAMS, REPUTATION AND INFLUENCE.	217
5:1. Hugh Williams and J. M. W. Turner.	217
5:2. Conclusions.	222
APPENDIX I.	226
APPENDIX II.	238
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY.	242
TABLE OF FIGURES.	269
FIGURES.	following 272

VOLUME II.

CATALOGUE OF WORKS IN PUBLIC COLLECTIONS INCLUDING ALL KNOWN PRINTS BY AND AFTER HUGH WILLIAMS.

Part I Watercolours.

Part II Drawings.

Part III Oils.

Part IV Incorrect or Doubtful Attributions.

Part V Prints.

ABBREVIATIONS.

The following abbreviations have been used throughout this Thesis and Catalogue.

AMO	Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
BKM	Benaki Museum, Athens.
BMAG	Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery.
BL	British Library, London.
BM	British Museum, London.
BN	Bibliothèque National, Paris.
CMN	Castle Museum, Nottingham.
CUL	Cambridge University Library.
EEC	Edinburgh Evening Courant [Newspaper].
EPL	Edinburgh Public Library.
EUL	Edinburgh University Library.
FAS	Fine Art Society, London.
FM	Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.
GAGM	Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum, Glasgow.
GUL	Glasgow University Library.
HM	Hunterian Museum and Art Gallery, Glasgow.
LAG	Laing Art Gallery, Newcastle upon Tyne.
LUL	Leeds University Library.
LV	Louvre, Paris.
ML	Mitchell Library, Glasgow.
NGI	National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin.
NGS	National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh.
NIAH	Netherlands Institute for Art History, the Hague.
NLS	National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

NMAG	Newport Museum and Art Gallery, Newport, Gwent.
NMW	National Museum of Wales, Cardiff.
NPG	National Portrait Gallery, London.
NTS	National Trust for Scotland.
PAGM	Perth Art Gallery and Museum.
PC	Private Collection.
RCHAMS	Royal Commission for the Historic and Ancient Monuments of Scotland, Edinburgh.
RIBA	Royal Institute of British Architects, London.
RIEFAS	Royal Institution for the Encouragement of Fine Arts in Scotland.
RISD	Rhode Island School of Design, Rhode Island.
RLW	Royal Library, Windsor.
RM	Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
RSA	Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh.
SNPG	Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh.
TG	Tate Gallery, London
UM	Ulster Museum, Belfast.
VAM	Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
WAG	Whitworth Art Gallery, Manchester.
WAGM	Williamson Art Gallery and Museum, Birkenhead.
YCBA	Yale Center for British Art, New Haven.

ABSTRACT.

This Thesis considers the life and work of Hugh William Williams [1773-1829]. The work is divided into two main sections; the Thesis itself and a fully illustrated, chronological Catalogue of all the works by the artist in public collections. This includes a Catalogue of all known prints by and after the artist.

In the Thesis, the artist's life and career have been examined in detail. The Introduction is followed by a Short Biography of the Artist with a Chronology of known events. The Introduction is followed by the Review of the Literature. Chapter 1 is devoted to the artist's biography. This is divided into sub-sections as follows: 1:1 The Early Years, 1773-1804; 1:2 Education and Training, 1782-1800; 1:3 Acting and Scene Painting, 1790-1800; 1:4 Teaching and Pupils, 1793-1820; 1:5 Exhibitions, 1807-1829; 1:6 The Grand Tour, 1816-1818; 1:7 The National Monument 1819-1829; and 1:8 The Final Years and Aftermath, 1826-1866.

Chapter 2 considers Hugh Williams at work. After a preliminary discussion of the difficulties in discussing the work, this is considered under the headings 2:3 Watercolours; 2:4 Drawings and 2:5 Oils. The section on watercolours looks at methods and criticism of the artist's colouring before going on to examine the work under the headings Early Watercolours, 1792-1800; Transitional, 1800-1816; the Grand Tour, 1816-1818; and Exhibition Watercolours, 1818-1829. Reference is made to the Catalogue and to a large group of examples seen in collections in Britain and abroad.

Chapter 3 looks at Williams as a printmaker and publisher of prints, considering all the publishing projects with which he was involved.

Chapter 4 deals with Hugh Williams' place in the watercolour tradition in Scotland. His precursors, Paul Sandby, Margaret Adam and Jacob More are dealt with in detail.

Chapter 5 considers the artist's reputation and influence, specifically at the relationship between Williams and J. M. W. Turner, which is examined in detail.

The Catalogue, Parts I-III, illustrates and lists all the watercolours, drawings and oil paintings by Hugh Williams, in public collections world wide. Part IV lists Incorrect or Doubtful Attributions and Part V lists all known Prints by and after Hugh Williams. All known versions of works are noted and there is a complete list of published and/or manuscript sources for each work. The watercolours are cross-referenced to related prints and drawings, in the Catalogue and elsewhere.

Finally, a Select Bibliography lists all known references to Hugh Williams in published sources and related manuscript material. Appendix I, lists all works by the artist, exhibited during his lifetime and Appendix II, presents the evidence for the artist having acted on stage as well as having produced theatrical scenery.

INTRODUCTION.

This thesis is an account of the life and work of the watercolour painter Hugh William Williams [1773-1829] - known as 'Grecian' Williams after his Grand Tour of 1816-1818. The artist's reputation has suffered from a romantic account of his origins, which began to appear during his lifetime. This misleading account concentrated on the stereotypical 'poor boy made good' scenario, common in the biographies of other artists. In addition, Williams spent his entire professional life in Scotland, a country not noted in the published record for its contribution to the watercolour medium. As a consequence of his biography and his residence in Scotland, he has not been taken seriously in his field and has been marginalised in the published histories of watercolour painting in Britain. His pioneering work in popularising Scottish landscape has not been recognised.

This INTRODUCTION will contain a SHORT BIOGRAPHY OF HUGH WILLIAM WILLIAMS. No references will be given in this section as the thesis will go on to examine the biography in detail, examining issues raised by new material discovered in the course of research. The SHORT BIOGRAPHY will be followed by a CHRONOLOGY OF THE KNOWN EVENTS IN THE ARTIST'S LIFE and a REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE.

The more detailed consideration of the biography will begin in Chapter 1.1., which will look at the early years of the artist's life and make some new observations on his sister and on his possible place of birth. For the first time, since it was proposed by Sir James Caw in 1909, evidence will be presented for a connection between Hugh Williams and the Italian professional embroiderer, Louis Ruffini.

The artist's education and artistic training remain a matter of conjecture. Chapter 1.2 will re-state the published opinion on his artistic training. The contribution of Alexander Nasmyth and David Allan will be examined and the place of pattern design, with reference to the printing of cloth will be discussed. It will be suggested that Williams may have received his earliest education from Louis Ruffini and possibly trained as a draughtsman with Major d'Asti

of the Edinburgh Military Academy. The possible influence of John Graham [1754-1817] will also be discussed.

Chapter 1.3 presents, again for the first time, evidence which suggests that Hugh Williams may have had a dual career, from 1790 until the turn of the century, as an actor. This is examined alongside clear evidence of his practice as a scene painter in the theatre in Glasgow in 1797.

In Chapter 1.4 new evidence will be presented for a Drawing Academy, set up by Williams in partnership with the miniature painter Alexander Galloway [fl.1793-1812] in 1793. For the first time, a number of the artist's pupils will be discussed. Some material has been published on the individuals in question but no previous attempt has been made to gather this evidence together and present it in relation to Hugh Williams. In addition, entirely new material in the form of watercolours by a pupil, countersigned by the artist will be discussed in this section.

A careful re-reading of Algernon Graves [1906] has revealed that Williams exhibited at the Royal Academy in London, in 1800 and 1815. This early evidence of an effort to make a name in London will be considered alongside material on the Associated Artists there and in Edinburgh. This and other material relating to Williams' exhibiting activities will be considered in Chapter 1.5.

The artist's Grand Tour, undertaken between 1816 and 1818 is considered in detail in Chapter 1.6. Using his own Travels in Italy Greece and the Ionian Islands, published in Edinburgh in 1820, it has been possible to establish a detailed itinerary for what was arguably the most important journey of his life. The itinerary for the homeward journey has always been a mystery but the discovery of an entire album of drawings made by Hugh Williams on the Continent - the De la Hanty Album - has made it possible to plot this with reasonable certainty. The album will be considered in the section on Drawings in Chapter 2:4 but its contribution to an understanding of the itinerary will be discussed in section 1:6.

Hugh Williams held two important one-man exhibitions in Edinburgh, on his return from Greece. The influence of these on the project to build the National Monument in Edinburgh will be studied in Chapter 1:7. Williams' influence on the architectural work of W.

H. Playfair [1790-1857], and Thomas Hamilton [1784-1858] - together responsible for some of the most important Greek Revival buildings in Britain- will also be considered.

In the last section, 1:8., of this Chapter the artist's final years and his marriage to Robina Miller will be studied.

Chapter 2 will look at Hugh Williams at work, discussing the most significant aspects of his drawing and painting style. After an initial section setting out the difficulties in discussing the artist's work, the discussion will be organised under three headings; 2:3, Watercolours; 2:4 Drawings and 2:5, Oil paintings. The section on watercolours is the largest, considering methods, both written and practised, followed by sections on Early Watercolours [1792-1800], Transitional Watercolours [1800-1816], the Grand Tour [1816-1818] and finally, Exhibition Watercolours [[1818-1829]. The section on drawings sets out two distinct types, accurate and textural, and also the combination of both in the same work. The section on oils responds to the fact that few survive, by tracing all those known through other references.

Chapter 3, Hugh Williams and Printmaking, is based entirely on the attached 'Catalogue of all Known Prints by and after the Artist'. An introductory section analyses the complexities of the artist's personal prints, prints *published* by the artist, and prints *published by others* on his behalf. This is followed by chronological sections on all the artist's printing projects, that on the Select View in Greece being perhaps the most important.

Chapter 4, Hugh Williams in Context. This Chapter traces the artist's predecessors in Scotland, discussing the watercolours and prints of Paul Sandby, Margaret Adam and Jacob More and also looks at the prints of the Runciman brothers and Robert Adam. The suggestion will be made that Richard Cooper senior may have had an important influence on the history of Scottish watercolour. The entirely unknown work of Margaret Adam is discussed along with the work of Sandby and Jacob More, to trace a line of descent from the foundation of the Academy of St. Luke in 1729, to Hugh Williams in 1829.

Chapter 5. In order to establish Williams' importance, an example of his direct impact on the work of J. M. W. Turner is established. This Chapter ends with Conclusions, reviewing the new material and noting the changes brought about by this research.

Short Biography of Hugh Williams.

The early years in the life of the watercolour painter Hugh Williams remain shrouded in mystery. As he died on the 14th June 1829 aged 56, according to the Edinburgh [Canongate] Parish records, then he must have been born in 1773. New evidence suggests that this occurred in Devonshire, but it is impossible to be more specific. From other evidence discovered during the course of this research, the artist may now be positively associated with Louis Ruffini [fl.1762-1804] in Edinburgh in 1790. Ruffini was a professional embroiderer from Turin and the new material is currently the earliest evidence for the presence of Hugh Williams in Scotland.

The earliest recorded work by Williams, said to be dated 1792, is a subject near Glasgow, The Clyde and Forth Canal. It is in a private collection and has not been seen by the present author except in reproduction. Williams published an etched outline; High Church and Infirmary of Glasgow from the North East, advertised in Glasgow in 1794. This work has, until this research, always been catalogued as a watercolour. This research has also found that Williams' watercolours were being used as teaching aids by C. Buchanan, a drawing master in Glasgow, in 1795. For these reasons the 'Mr. Williams' who established a Drawing Academy in Glasgow in 1793, with the miniature painter Alexander Galloway [fl.1793-1812], must be considered the artist of this study. There is evidence that Hugh Williams painted stage scenery during these years and that he may also have performed on stage.

The publication of an acquatint after Hugh Williams; Craig Millar Castle, by Jee and Eginton of Birmingham in 1795, indicated a return to Edinburgh in that year. The Drawing Academy in Glasgow was not re-advertised in 1795 when Galloway advertised his own teaching services. However this move was not confirmed until the discovery of an announcement in the Edinburgh Evening Courant that Hugh Williams 'of this place' was working around Edinburgh in January 1801. The following April he published Etchings of Local Subjects - intended to assist in the study of Nature in Edinburgh. He appeared for the first time in Thomas Aitchison's The Edinburgh and Leith Directory in 1803 as 'Williams Mr., Landscape Painter' at '4 South. St. Andrew Street'.

The desire by Williams to see his work in print, a driving force throughout his life, found further expression in four aquatints by J. Merigot after Williams. These were published in John Stoddart's Remarks on Local Scenery and Manners in Scotland, during the years 1799 and 1800, in London in 1801. In the following year an engraving after Hugh Williams was published in (Sir) Walter Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, Kelso [1802-3]. Williams also contributed frontispiece illustrations to the Scots Magazine on thirty occasions between January 1804 and 1813.

While living in Edinburgh, Williams tried with limited success to build on his reputation in the artistic community in London and gain public recognition. He exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1800 and 1815, on the first occasion as 'Williams, Edinburgh' - [Graves [1906] mistook him for James Francis Williams [1785-1846], who would have been too young] - and on the second, from '23 Duke Street, Edinburgh', the address to which he had removed in 1811. Roget [1891] states that in 1807 Williams was unsuccessfully proposed for membership of the Society of Painters in Watercolours but there is some evidence presented here for the first time, that suggests Williams was a member of a splinter group of the Society, who exhibited oil paintings as well as watercolours. He was a founding member of the Associated Artists in London, where he exhibited in 1808 and 1809 from '4 St. Andrew Street'. His membership of this group is an indication of his reputation among the London artists, if not of his success there. He did not exhibit in London again and in 1810 he began exhibiting with the Associated Artists in Edinburgh, continuing to do so until 1816. Possibly realising that his reputation would only be increased by publication of his work, in 1813 he privately published six large views of Highland scenery, dedicated to a group of patrons including the Dowager Duchess of Buccleuch [1743-1827] and William Douglas of Orchardton [?1784-1821], MP.

Williams embarked on a Grand Tour of the Continent in June 1816, aged 45. On his return he published his thoughts and experiences as Travels in Italy Greece and the Ionian Islands [1820]. This research has established that his patron was William Douglas of Orchardton, MP, who can be associated with Williams from 1805. His journal of part of the tour has been re-discovered in the Edinburgh University Library where it was incorrectly catalogued as the work of the miniature painter, William Douglas [1780-1832]. While in Italy,

Williams was associated with the Duchess of Devonshire, as his patron in commissioning an illustration for her sumptuous edition of Virgil's Aeneid [1819]. He also gave drawing lessons to the young architect George Basevi [1794-1845], then on his own Grand Tour, and was often in the company of the Scottish artist, James Irvine [fl.1787-1832].

On his return from Greece in 1818 Williams spent the following decade immersed in the production of topographical views of Greece for exhibition. The demand for these views slowed any further development of the promising change of style in the artist's work, which had begun to emerge before his continental journey. Indeed, such was the demand that from 1823 he arranged the publication of etchings after his views, as Select Views in Greece [1823-1829], supervising closely the production of the plates by leading Scottish engravers. Against the background of the Greek struggle for independence from the Turks, his watercolours and prints caught the public imagination and for this reason they mark the high point of his financial success. His increasing activity also prevented Williams becoming more closely involved with Sir Walter Scott's Provincial Antiquities and Picturesque Scenery of Scotland, although he did contribute one plate in 1819 and worked closely with the Rev. John Thomson of Duddingston [1778-1840] and J. M. W. Turner [1773-1857], two share-holding contributors.

Williams held two one-man exhibitions, in 1822 and 1826, publishing informative Catalogues on both occasions, and he exhibited regularly with the Royal Institution for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts in Scotland, from 1824 until the year of his death. In 1822 his work was hung in a private exhibition in Holyrood Palace, arranged for King George IV during his visit to the Scottish Capital.

After a courtship which was first mentioned in the Diaries of Helen Graham in 1824 [published in 1957], Williams married Robina Miller [d.1874] in 1827. They had no children and Williams became unwell in the Summer of 1828, dying on the 14th June the following year after a very painful illness. He was buried in the Miller family plot in the Canongate churchyard, Edinburgh on the 22nd June.

Robina and the artist's other Trustees, Aeneas MacBean, WS. and the miniature painter, W. J. Thomson [1771-1845], arranged a studio sale in 1831 but the sale catalogue makes it clear that this did not include any of his Greek material and no significant oil paintings.

Some of his Greek watercolours and smaller Greek subjects in sepia - the latter made for publication in the Select Views in Greece - were sold on the death of Aeneas MacBean in 1858. Robina presented a collection of works, which included large exhibition watercolours of Greece, a bronze model of the Parthenon and one oil canvas, to the newly opened National Gallery of Scotland, in 1859. Most of this group hung almost continuously in one of the small octagonal rooms in the Gallery until the late 1950's, at great cost to the condition of the works. It has been established here that this was the earliest permanent public exhibition of watercolours by a single artist in Britain.

The artist's tomb is decorated with a bronze silhouette by Sir John Steell [1804-1891], placed there in 1863. It is one of four portraits of the artist, the best known being that by Henry Raeburn [1756-1823], of c.1822-3 [NPG](**Frontispiece**). Of the others, that by W. J. Thomson is now untraced, but it is known from an engraving by C. Thomson, published in 1827 [SNPG]. Possibly the latest in date is that by William Nicholson [1781-1844], which appears, from the age of the sitter, to be of c.1828 [RSA]. An untraced life mask, belonging to the Edinburgh Phrenological Society is also recorded but presently untraced. The bronze bas-relief silhouette by Steell, on the tomb, is a copy of a bas-relief, in white marble by the same artist, given to the National Gallery of Scotland by the artist's widow in 1866 [NGS]. The bronze, and thus presumably the marble version, is said to be posthumous and based on the portraits by Raeburn and Thomson already mentioned.

The work of Hugh Williams is almost entirely topographical with a few examples of picturesque re-arrangement of actual scenes. His Scottish views are often the earliest depictions of the scenes in question. He worked from his earliest days in broad watercolour washes over almost invisible and precise pencil drawings and as such these watercolours are the earliest examples of their type in Scottish art. The works are accurate representations, but some are embellished with imaginary picturesque repoussoirs, after the manner of Claude Lorrain [1600-1682]. As well as his precise drawings he occasionally worked in charcoal or very soft, dark pencil. One chalk drawing is known and others are recorded. There is also evidence that he painted stage scenery in 1797. He began working in oil in 1810 and continued to exhibit oils until shortly before his death. Only two of these are known and a further

example is illustrated in Grant [1926]. In addition Williams was a skilled etcher, working, unusually in Scotland, in the soft ground technique.

The artist's works are to be found in the following public collections:

Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, *Athens*: Benaki Museum, *Belfast*: Ulster Museum, *Birkenhead*: Williamson Art Gallery and Museum, *Birmingham*: Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, *Cambridge*: Fitzwilliam Museum, *Cardiff*: National Museum of Wales, *Dublin*: National Gallery of Ireland, *Edinburgh*: Edinburgh Public Library, National Gallery of Scotland, National Library of Scotland, Royal Scottish Academy, Scottish National Portrait Gallery and National Trust for Scotland (Brodie Castle), *Glasgow*: Hunterian Museum, Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum, Kelvingrove, *London*: Print Room of the British Museum, Victoria and Albert Museum, *Manchester*: Whitworth Art Gallery, *Newcastle upon Tyne*: Laing Art Gallery, *New Haven Connecticut*: Yale Center for British Art, *Newport, Gwent*: Museum and Art Gallery, *Nottingham*: Castle Museum, *Perth*: Art Gallery and Museum, *Rhode Island, Connecticut*: Rhode Island School of Design Museum.

His work is also to be found in very many private collections and through the assiduous work of the Fine Art Society, most of his Greek subjects are to be found in that country.

Chronology of the known events in the life of Hugh Williams.

- 1773 • Birth, from information on his tomb, Canongate churchyard, Edinburgh.
Probably at Honiton in Devon.
- 1790 • Living in lodgings in Dalkeith, near Edinburgh, paid for by Louis Ruffini.
• Possible earliest work, St. Bernard's Well, Dean Village, Edinburgh [PC].
- 1792 • First signed and dated watercolour The Clyde and Forth Canal [PC].
- 1793 • Established a Drawing Academy in Glasgow in partnership with Alexander Galloway, Miniature Painter. Until 1794.
- 1794 • October. Published an etched outline, High Church and Infirmary of Glasgow from the North East.
- 1795 • A drawing master, Mr. C. Buchanan of Glasgow, advertised that he was using watercolours by Hugh Williams in his teaching.
• August 1st. Publication of an aquatint Craig Millar Castle by J. Eginton after Hugh Williams. Published by Jee and Eginton in Birmingham.
- 1797 • 12th January. Painted scenery for a performance of The Capture of the Cape of Good Hope, at Messrs Jones' Royal Circus, Glasgow. Transferred to Royal Circus, Edinburgh, 11th February - 21st February, 1797. Performance on 27th February at request of Duchess of Buccleuch.
• Signed and dated watercolour Landscape [Snowdon from Capel Curig...Wales][VAM].
- 1799 • Commissioned to illustrate an intended poem about Edinburgh by Thomas Campbell [1777-1844], 'the Queen of the North'. Williams made drawings, some of which were made into plates but the publication did not take place.
- 1800 • Exhibited View of Loch Tay, In Scotland at the Royal Academy, London.
- 1801 • January. Reported to be working on etchings, in the vicinity of Edinburgh. Said to be 'of this place' [EEC].

- March. Publication of four aquatints by J. Merigot after Hugh Williams in John Stoddart's Remarks on Local Scenery and Manners in Scotland, during the years 1799 and 1800, London.
- April. Publication of Etchings of Local Subjects - intended to assist in the study of Nature, by P. Garof, Printseller, Edinburgh, for Hugh Williams.
- 1802 • Publication of etching Hermitage Castle, Liddesdale by W. Walker after Hugh Williams in Walter Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, Kelso.
- 1803 • Living at 4 South St. Andrew Street, Edinburgh.
- 1804 • January. First Frontispiece illustration published in Scots Magazine. Continued to contribute until 1813.
- 1805 • Before August. Visited London, 'viewing all the paintings, both public and private' [Harden MSS], followed by a tour of Wales.
- 1806 • Signed and dated watercolour Bangour Cathedral [VAM].
- 1807 • 1st July. Present at second meeting of Associated Artists, London.
- 1808 • Exhibited with Associated Artists, London.
- Publication of re-print of Etchings of Local Subjects - intended to assist in the study of Nature, by P. Garof, Printseller, Edinburgh, for Hugh Williams.
- 1809 • Exhibited with Associated Artists, London.
- December. Took up oil painting [Harden MSS].
- 1810 • Exhibited with Associated Artists, Edinburgh. Included paintings in oil [Harden MSS]. Exhibited again each year until 1816.
- 1811 • Moved to 23 Duke Street, Edinburgh.
- Signed and dated etching, Untitled [Lady Reading][BM].
- 1812 • Exhibited Glencoe with Associated Artists, Edinburgh.
- Publication of etching Bothwell Castle by Robert Scott after Hugh Williams in The Picture of Glasgow.
- Publication of etching Fall of the River Ogwen, North Wales by T. Woolnoth after Hugh Williams in Beauties of England and Wales London.

- 1813 • December. Published six large aquatints of Highland scenery.
- 1814 • Publication of re-print of Etchings of Local Subjects - intended to assist in the study of Nature, by P. Garof, Printseller, Edinburgh, for Hugh Williams.
- 1815 • Exhibited View of Glen Coe, Highlands of Scotland at Royal Academy, London.
 - Publication of aquatint Fingal's Tomb by J. Clark after Hugh Williams in Louis Simond's Journal of a Tour and Residence in Great Britain during the years 1810 and 1811, Edinburgh. Reprinted in Paris, [1817] sans illustration.
- 1816 • 6th June. Embarked from London for tour of the Continent.
 - November. In Rome having visited Elba.
 - Signed and dated watercolour Lake Avernus [UM], commissioned by Duchess of Devonshire.
- 1817 • 7th January, left Rome and by the end of April, in Athens.
 - 21st May. Left Athens, for Naples via Sicily and Malta.
 - 7th June. in Naples. By September, in Florence and by December, in Rome.
- 1818 • 24th March. Left Rome, in Utrecht by 6th September.
 - October. Sketching around Craigmillar Castle, near Edinburgh, in the company of the Rev. John Thomson of Duddingston and J. M. W. Turner.
- 1819 • Moved to 65 Castle Street, Edinburgh.
 - Publication of etching Borthwick Castle by William Finden after Hugh Williams, in Part III of Sir Walter Scott's Provincial Antiquities and Picturesque Scenery of Scotland, London.
 - Publication of etching Lake Avernus by W. F. Gmelin after Hugh Williams in the Duchess of Devonshire's edition of Virgil's L'Eneide di Virgilio Rome.
- 1820 • Published Travels in Italy Greece and the Ionian Islands, Edinburgh.

- 1822 • 1st February - 6th April. First one man exhibition, Calton Convening Rooms, Edinburgh. Opened again for one day, 8th, in aid of National Monument. Published two editions of Exhibition Catalogue.
- 21st August. Exhibited four watercolours including The Temple of Minerva, at Holyrood Palace, at command of King George IV.
- 22nd August. Dinner at Sir Henry Raeburn's house with J. M. W. Turner, Alexander Nasmyth and the Rev. John Thomson of Duddingston.
- 24th August. Entertained J. M. W. Turner, David Wilkie, Andrew Geddes and others, to dinner at 65 Castle Street.
- 1823 • Exhibited with the Northern Society for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts, Leeds. Exhibited again, 1825.
- October. First number of Select Views in Greece published, Edinburgh. Parts appeared regularly until 1829.
- 1824 • First exhibition with Royal Institution for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts in Scotland, 24 Waterloo Place, Edinburgh. Exhibited again from 1826 until 1829.
- 1826 • 20th February. Second one man exhibition opened, Calton Convening Rooms, Edinburgh. Published exhibition catalogue.
- Publication of engraving Edinburgh by William Miller after Hugh Williams.
- 19th April. Messrs Hurst and Robinson, publishers of Select Views in Greece declared bankrupt. Williams lost around £500.
- 8th June. Agreement with Messrs Longman & Co. to publish remainder of Select Views in Greece.
- Publication of Mezzotint Merchiston Castle by R. M. Hodgetts after Hugh Williams.
- 1827 • 6th July. Married Robina Miller. Living at 1 St. Colm Street, Edinburgh.
- 1828 • Publication of etching The Palace of Napoleon, Elba by William Miller after Hugh Williams in Constable's Miscellany Vol. XXXV.

- 1829 • 14th June. Hugh Williams died after a long illness at 1 St. Colm Street, Edinburgh. Buried in the Miller of Dalnair plot, Canongate Churchyard, Edinburgh, 22nd June.
- 1831 • 7th February. Selective studio sale by C. B. Tait at 11 Hanover Street, Edinburgh.
- 1858 • 16th January. Greek watercolours at posthumous sale of Aeneas Macbean, the artist's trustee. Sold by Mr. T. Nisbet, 11 Hanover Street, Edinburgh.
- 1859 • Watercolours by Williams presented to the National Gallery of Scotland by the artist's widow. They form the nucleus of the National Collection of prints and drawings.

Review of Literature.

Published sources.

There is no published monograph on Hugh William Williams. There is however an unpublished monograph, the result of a short period of research carried out by Rebecca Bodmer before 1975 [unpublished M. Litt. thesis, 1975, Edinburgh University]. Bodmer was one of the earliest writers to consult manuscript sources and she highlighted some new material including the artist's testament, with its reference to his previously unrecorded sister in Exeter, and the manuscript 'Method of drawing in Watercolours as Practised by Mr Williams', of 1811 [VAM]. These references were not analysed in the text, which is short and lacking in thoroughness. Bodmer also attempted a Catalogue Raisonne, but such is the output of the artist that this proved as insurmountable then as it does today. However she did catalogue 114 works in both public and private collections, illustrating 47 of these and discussed three doubtful works.

An entry on Williams appeared in all of the important surveys on Scottish art and watercolours and in some cases this is extensive. Before looking at these, Williams' own contribution to the record should be considered.

Hugh Williams entered into publication with enthusiasm. He appeared in print for the first time in 1820, after his Grand Tour, with Travels in Italy, Greece and the Ionian Islands.¹ This is an extensive work, in two volumes, but it is primarily a guide for those about to undertake the Grand Tour for themselves. Consequently it discusses the route to Greece and collections in Italy at great length. It is illustrated with etchings, one of which, Portrait of the Priest of Delphi (Cat. No. P. 81) etched by William Nicholson [1781-1844] after Williams, is one of only two known portrait studies by Williams. There are also rare views taken in Elba and his own figure studies, and others after Bartolomeo Pinelli [1781-1835]. The most serious omission for the purpose of this research is any record of the homeward journey after leaving Greece - to some extent redressed here with new material presented in Chapter 1. 6. On his return from Greece Williams held two important exhibitions of his work, in 1822 and 1826. On

both occasions, he published scholarly catalogues with descriptions of the monuments depicted in his watercolours and with suitable classical texts chosen by Professor James Pillans [1778-1864] and translated by John Brown Paterson. In 1829 Williams published a short note on 'Edinburgh and Athens' which was intended as an introduction to two engravings of Edinburgh and Athens compared.² This proposal was cut short by his death later that year.

Williams was equally enthusiastic about seeing his work in print and these productions fall into three categories. The first comprised prints [etchings] made by the artist using his own designs, the second, prints made by others after designs by the artist, commissioned by others and printed and published by them [etchings, aquatints and mezzotints] and third, prints made by others after designs by the artist but executed under his direct supervision [aquatints and etchings]. The intricacies of these productions, spanning the years 1794 to 1829, will be considered in Chapter 3. One group of prints after his work must be considered here for the scholarly entries which accompanied them. Williams' Select Views in Greece,³ was published in parts between 1823 and 1829, comprising sixty-four etchings of his work, by the best Scottish plate makers. The accompanying text comprised quotes from classical authors, in Greek and Latin, with translations, once again, by John Brown Paterson. These small-scale prints, some with elaborate quotes from Byron, became very popular, capturing fully the mood of the time, and contributed to the artist's national reputation.

There were three important published references to the artist during his lifetime. The earliest was published by Louis Simond in Journal of a Tour and Residence in Great Britain during the years 1810 and 1811 Edinburgh [1815] in which he stated that Williams had taught him soft ground or 'chalk etching'. He also commented [Vol. II p. 47] that Williams worked in the manner of the best London watercolourists. This was reprinted in Paris in 1817 without the plate after Williams but including the complimentary remark. The second, appearing in Stark [1819]⁴ stated that Williams had received the rudiments of his art from David Allan [1744-1796]. This is the only known contemporary reference to his artistic training. The artist was also the subject of an enthusiastic paragraph in 'View of the Progress and Present state of the Arts of Design in Britain', published in the Edinburgh Annual Register for 1816 [1820].⁵ This

rarely used source was one of the earliest reviews of Scottish art and architecture, and the first to treat Scottish art as a separate development, set alongside the achievements in England. In fifty pages, half of them devoted to Scotland, it considered painting, engraving, sculpture and architecture, with sections on the most influential artists. It was the first publication to reprint verbatim, the indenture which established the Academy of St. Luke, in Edinburgh in 1729, and thereby invoked its high ideals. Understandably, the entry on Williams focused on his most recent work, highlighting three Greek views, but it also began a trend which would play down the importance of his Scottish landscapes.

A number of important events relating to the published discussion of watercolours in general, and the public exhibition of works of Hugh Williams in particular, occurred in the seventy years between this survey and the next - Robert Brydall's Art in Scotland in 1889. These events determined in a harmful way the language used to discuss all watercolours, and distorted the public perception of Williams' output.

The first of these events was the publication, in 1877 of Samuel Redgrave's Descriptive Catalogue of the Historical Collection of Watercolour Paintings in the South Kensington Museum. This single publication did more to formalise the language used to discuss British watercolours than any other. For this reason its influence will be discussed fully in Chapter 2:2.

The second series of events concerns the public exhibition of works by Hugh Williams. Almost all writers on Williams depended largely on those works accessible in public collections, only the most determined seeking out works in private collections. Thus, as very few watercolours were purchased by public collections until the present century, their opinions were based only on works gifted by members of the public. In the case of Hugh Williams this meant that very few writers saw any Scottish landscapes.

In 1859, Mrs Williams, the artist's widow, presented a large group of watercolours to the newly opened National Gallery of Scotland. These were hung as a group, in one of the small octagonal galleries. Their significance as the earliest group of watercolours by one artist to be permanently exhibited in Britain, has been overlooked. The only other collection of watercolours which might claim this distinction - those in the South Kensington Museum, were by various artists and were hung alongside oil paintings. The two Scottish landscapes by

Williams in that collection were sent out on circulation loans to provincial Schools of Art, only returning at the beginning of the twentieth century.

However, the works exhibited in Edinburgh did not represent a full spread of the artist's output. They included, alongside the large Greek and Italian exhibition watercolours, a large view of Caerphilly Castle [c.1826, NGS](Cat. No. W. 121), the important Glencoe [c.1812, NGS](Cat. No. W. 71) and nine much smaller, Scottish sketches. [The works presented by Mrs. Williams also included a large oil painting Urquhart Castle (Cat. No. OP. 2)]. Most critically, there were no large and finished watercolours of Scottish landscape in the exhibited group. Indeed, no Scottish views by Williams were exhibited in the National Gallery of Scotland until 1978 when it borrowed Hawthornden [1796, Collection of the Duke of Buccleuch], for the exhibition The Discovery of Scotland. The earliest from their own collection, View of Bothwell Castle [c.1814, purchased in 1954] was shown in their exhibition, The Line of Tradition, in 1993.

Two other public exhibitions of Scottish work by Williams did occur between his death and Robert Brydall's publication in 1870. In 1865, William Findlay Watson [1810-1881] exhibited two early works by Williams at a private exhibition in his house.⁶ These watercolours had probably not been exhibited since the beginning of the nineteenth century and for many it must have been the first realisation that Hugh 'Grecian' Williams also painted Scottish scenery. Watson bequeathed his collection to the National Gallery of Scotland in 1881 and the gift included three large landscapes of the West coast.⁷ These were not accessioned until 1886 and never hung in the Gallery. Finally, a small group of Scottish landscapes by Williams was exhibited at the Glasgow International Exhibition in 1888 but these works, some of them unfinished, were painted in 1810.⁸ Remarkably however, the exhibition catalogue illustrated a view of Castle Campbell, in a lithograph after Williams. Thus Hugh Williams' most important early Scottish landscapes, particularly those of the Clyde, remained in private collections and were not commented upon by any writer until Bodmer [1975].⁹

Robert Brydall [1889]¹⁰ in his long awaited survey, referred to published exhibition reviews, the works hanging in the National Gallery of Scotland and the day-dreaming of Professor John Wilson's 'Shepherd', to recapture the romantic associations that Williams' memory evoked. He devoted almost four pages to Williams, but his analysis suffered from an

understandable ignorance of finished Scottish landscapes in any quantity. He mentioned the works he knew, the Greek scenes and the dramatic Caerphilly Castle [c.1827, NGS], but he ignored the important Glencoe [c.1812, NGS]. In a footnote he dismissed Williams' views of Highland scenery.¹¹ Considering the status of this information, it is likely that he had seen some early Scottish landscapes, late in the process of publication, as he was the only author to realise that Williams spent his early years on the West coast.

As a result of this clear lack of visible Scottish works and in a statement which was to take root, William D. McKay [1906]¹² was able to suggest that Williams might have had greater impact on the Scottish school if he had painted more of his native scenery. In reality, and as the Catalogue attached to this thesis confirms, some two thirds of the artist's output now in public collections consists of Scottish scenes. Even this is probably an under-representation if all known works are considered. In a three page survey, McKay [1906] dismissed Williams' early works as tinted drawings, hardly to be considered watercolours.¹³ He had however seen other versions of the large exhibition Greek watercolours by Williams, in private collections, and he enlivened the discussion of those at the Mound with his broader knowledge. Exceptionally, he illustrated his text with a full page black and white halftone of one of these, the first author to do so. It is a remarkable fact that none of the publications which were critical of the use of colour by Hugh Williams were illustrated in colour and the first colour illustrations of his work occurred in Campbell [1993] and Wilton and Lyle [1994].

James L. Caw [1908],¹⁴ who as Director of the National Gallery of Scotland was well acquainted with the Scottish landscapes by Williams, picked up the language and analysis of Redgrave [1877], in considering Williams' early works to be tinted drawings and thus not worthy of individual mention.¹⁵ He developed, in four paragraphs, ideas gathered from Brydall [1889] and McKay [1906] and noted the development of technique visible in Glencoe [c.1812, NGS]. By the time of his entry for the Dictionary of National Biography of 1909,¹⁶ Caw was referring the reader to the collections at the Mound in Edinburgh and to the South Kensington Museum, noting specifically that the latter included three works dated before 1807. By 1909 the collection in his own care included the three substantial and much earlier works by Williams, from the Watson bequest, which he failed to mention.

In a single paragraph entry E. A. Taylor [1918] began to develop a theme hinted at by McKay [1906], that Williams was a pioneer watercolourist in Scotland.¹⁷ This reading of history depended on the author's poor knowledge of other watercolour artists working in Scotland before Williams. However, Taylor [1918] for the first time, set Williams alongside Alexander Nasmyth [1758-1840] as one of the principal pioneers of landscape painting in Scotland - Nasmyth in oil, Williams in watercolour.

Some thirty years after McKay, John Tonge [1938]¹⁸ considered Williams under a general heading 'The Scott Aftermath' and went on to suggest that the artist painted Highland views under the influence of Walter Scott's The Lady of the Lake [1810]. This ignored the fact that Williams began painting in 1794, if not earlier. He did not mention any specific work previous to Glencoe [c.1812, NGS], and completely misread even this, assuming it to be a topographical record rather than a very personal response to nature. By 1949 Stanley Cursiter appeared to have forgotten Williams, including him at the end of a section on the pupils of Alexander Nasmyth [1758-1840] before moving on '**to the more definite development of landscape based on the Scottish scene**'.¹⁹ He was however the only writer to note the determined way in which Williams pursued nature, working on the spot.

Iolo Williams' lengthy entry on Hugh Williams in a book devoted to English painters [1952]²⁰ was, as the new evidence now suggests, entirely appropriate. He made use of works in his own collection and drew on his prodigious memory of earlier exhibitions to say something original. His comments on the possibility of confusing works by Williams with those of Peter De Wint [1784-1849] could only have been made by a connoisseur, and this without apparently having seen the watercolour Aberdare [1812, NMW](Cat. No. W. 67), which would have heightened his concern. His selection of Williams' Birnam Wood [1801, YCBA](Cat. No. W. 27) as an example of the more imaginative way in which Williams' work might have developed, was perceptive. However Iolo Williams did not mention any works in public collections and his opinions are subjective.

Martin Hardie [1967]²¹ was another author who had not seen enough works to make a fair assessment, and he repeated, almost word for word, comments made by McKay [1906]. In a two paragraph entry he reiterated the notion that Williams was influenced by Walter Scott's

Lady of the Lake [1810] [the earliest Scottish works he mentioned were those in the Victoria and Albert Museum, dated between 1802 and 1806] but he acknowledged that Williams had made some contribution to the popularisation of Highland scenery. He appreciated the ‘**surprisingly modern**’ Glencoe [c.1812, NGS]. Hardie was the first author to study manuscript sources in relation to Hugh Williams, in his section on the London exhibition societies. He thus made original observations on Williams and his fellow exhibitors with the Associated Artists there. Hardie showed a detailed knowledge of the Greek watercolours, drawing attention, for the first time, to the prices realised at the MacBean sale in 1858.

The best modern assessment is to be found in Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad 1700-1900 [1975]²² by David and Francina Irwin, who devoted an entire section to Williams under the heading ‘The Romantic Generation’. They considered a broad range of works and on a close reading of Williams’ Travels in Italy, Greece and the Ionian Islands [1820], made many useful observations. As their concern was to highlight travelling artists, they concentrated on the Greek material but they also criticised in passing two of the early Scottish landscapes in the National Gallery of Scotland. The Greek watercolours were the sole concern of Fani-Maria Tsigakou, in her very informative The Rediscovery of Greece [1983].²³ Here, Williams was placed in the context of other travellers to Greece and some of his large watercolours, presently inaccessible in Greek collections were illustrated, unfortunately in rather harsh colour reproductions.

Julian Halsby’s Scottish Watercolours 1740-1940 [1986],²⁴ is the only modern study of the entire subject. He devoted some six pages to Williams, quoting in full the ‘Method’ written by the artist in 1811, but he made a very subjective assessment of the artist’s colouring. He was unusual in referring at length to the Scottish landscapes and to the maturity shown in the early Hawthornden [1796, NGS]. However, in what must surely be a case of mis-remembering, he chose a work of the poorest quality, Crichton Castle [1796, GAGM](Cat. No. W. 10), as a good example of the artist’s use of Claudian repoussoirs. His discussion of Greek views is enlivened by his choice of unusual pictures from the National collection and he also made full use of the Travels. Halsby and Harris [1990] together repeated all the biographical material published previously, with great authority, but without having checked the most basic references. They

also repeated Halsby's assertion that Williams used oil paint on his watercolours without having looked closely at the many large works in the National Gallery of Scotland, which make it plain that this was not the case.

In what is the most obvious gap in the published material, very few authors mention the artist's other activities, in the areas of oil painting, etching or of the published print. McKay [1906] mentioned the small oil canvas in the Glasgow Art Gallery The Lady of the Lake (Cat. No. DA. 18), which is probably not by Hugh Williams, and it was left to M. H. Grant [1926]²⁵ to discuss and, more importantly illustrate, an oil canvas which remains untraced. More recently Professor Duncan Macmillan [1986]²⁶ discussed the small oil on panel, Landscape [c.1810, RSA](Cat. No. OP. 1), presented to the Royal Scottish Academy in 1875. The artist's etchings remained the subject of specialised publications such as L. G. Bushnell [1949]²⁷ and W. S. Sparrow [1926]²⁸ until Macmillan illustrated one in 1992.²⁹ Similarly, Williams' activities as a print maker and the author of the Select Views in Greece, while finding credit in the larger surveys already discussed, only warranted small entries in A. Whitman [1907]³⁰ and R. K. Engen [1979].³¹

The most marked feature of all of the biographies of Hugh Williams is that they repeat, without references, the notion that he was either born at sea or in Wales, and the growth of this idea in the published record will be followed in Chapter 1. Some authors made simple errors such as the suggestion by T. C. F. Brotchie [1927]³² that Williams accompanied the Earl of Elgin to Greece and that the Elgin family had a large collection of watercolours by Williams. This research has confirmed that neither of these statements is correct. The most common fault, and one which is founded on the nationalism of almost all published comment on British watercolour practice,³³ is in assuming the artist's lack of importance. He is thus said by Hardie [1967] to have *joined* the Associated Artists in London, when in fact, he was a *founding* member. Likewise, Brydall [1879] assumed that he never exhibited at the Royal Academy in London, admittedly before Graves [1909] indicated that he did so, in 1800 and 1815. Nevertheless, no author since 1909 read Graves closely enough to find the Williams references.

One other difficulty has dogged the published literature from the earliest days of the artist's working life and this is critical opinion on his use of colour. There are very few

watercolours by Hugh Williams which have not faded and most show distinct signs of substantial colour loss. In the discussion of his work, the distortion caused by fading is a serious one, as the two largest groups of his work [in the National Gallery of Scotland and at the Victoria and Albert Museum] hung almost continuously for a century in conditions which would not be tolerated today. These were the watercolours examined by almost all writers on the artist. The misunderstandings caused by fading will be considered in Chapter 2:2.

None of this romantic moss-gathering would be important, were it not for the way in which it encouraged later critics to treat Hugh Williams as a provincial artist of obscure origins, who should only grudgingly be included in the mainstream of British watercolour history.

Manuscripts.

The primary written sources of research are manuscripts, which are few in number but illuminating in content. The National Library of Scotland is a rich source of manuscript material relating to Williams. Within this collection, the largest and most informative body of material includes the Journals of Jessie Harden³⁴ which provide insight into the artist's activities between 1805 and 1810 in England, while the Journal of Helen Graham records his activities while visiting Stirling Castle in 1815.³⁵ There are also letters from the architect C. R. Cockerell [1788-1863], which reveal Williams' role in designing the National Monument in Edinburgh³⁶ and correspondence between Williams and Gilbert, 2nd Earl of Minto regarding the purchase and framing of works.³⁷ In this vein, Leeds University Library have a pair of letters from Williams to Benjamin Gott, referring to the sale of a large watercolour View of Athens.³⁸

Edinburgh University Library, Special Collections, contains an important letter from Louis Ruffin [sic] to Professor Black which gives some clues to the status of this Piedmontese embroiderer.³⁹ The Library also holds the very informative letters of William Douglas of Orchardton,⁴⁰ Williams' patron and companion on his continental tour. These provide a useful counterbalance to the correspondence [untraced] between the artist, George Thomson and the Rev. John Thomson of Duddingston - published as Travels in Italy Greece and the Ionian

Islands Edinburgh [1820]. The Douglas letters were previously catalogued as those of the Miniature painter William Douglas, and so escaped attention. In fact they are quoted at length in the Travels which confirms their new attribution.

This research presents new evidence in the form of a Journal made by Dr. Anthony Todd Thomson, which records a visit to Edinburgh in 1823 and which is an important source for the new biography proposed here. It survives in a typescript, now in private hands. Also untraced is the correspondence between the engraver, William Miller [1796-1882] and Hugh Williams, parts of which were privately published by W. F. Miller as Memorials of Hope Park in 1898 and which provides important material on the relationship between artist and engraver. Further important letters by Miller referring to the print Edinburgh from Arthur's Seat [1826] were presented to the Tuckett Society during the period of this research.

The previously unrecorded sequestration papers of Louis Ruffini were found in the Scottish Record Office.⁴¹ There too were the Minutes of the Board of Manufactures,⁴² with whom he was involved in training his apprentices. The Williams' testament,⁴³ first discussed by Bodmer in 1975, and that of Robina Miller, his widow,⁴⁴ are in the same place. The Scottish Record Office also hold a single letter from Warren Hastings Anderson, which is unusual for its sharp criticism of pictures in Williams' 1822 exhibition.⁴⁵ Through the Scottish Record Office, National Record of Archives (NRAS), it was possible to consult the letters, in private hands, of the Rev. William MacGreggor Stirling, which gave new insights into the reasons for Williams' continental tour and the details of the arrangements between the artist and his patron, William Douglas of Orchardton.

The Library of the Royal Scottish Academy holds the Minutes of the Associated Artists of Edinburgh, an organisation with which Williams was involved, and a single letter in the Library of Glasgow University, from the poet Thomas Campbell [1777-1844] led to further manuscript material in private hands, relating to illustrations Williams made for an unpublished poem by Campbell about Edinburgh - 'Queen of the North'.⁴⁶ [The letter in Glasgow referred to a 'Mr. Williams', who, it transpired, was not Hugh Williams, but the direction of research it suggested proved to be fruitful].

In England, research on the letters of the young architect George Basevi in the Library of Sir John Soane's Museum has provided a better chronology for Williams' travels in Italy, and has established Basevi as one of the artist's pupils. These letters were published in part in The Architect by W. H. F. Basevi, in 1922. The unpublished Diary of another architect C. R. Cockerell [1788-1863] in the Library of the Royal Incorporation of British Architects (RIBA), sheds further light on both the National Monument project and Edinburgh society in 1822, the year of Williams' first one man show in the city.⁴⁷

The Library of the Victoria and Albert Museum holds the Minutes of the Associated Artists in London, of which Williams was a founding member.⁴⁸ It also holds a pair of intimate letters from Williams⁴⁹ to his close friend (Sir) Thomas Dick Lauder [Lauder-Dick until he inherited the Baronetcy in 1820] and an important transcription by Lauder. This is a 'method' by Williams, dated 1811⁵⁰ which was published in full by Julian Halsby in Scottish Watercolours 1740-1940 in 1974. Another manuscript version of a 'method', associated with Williams, has been traced in the University Library, Cambridge.⁵¹

The sequestration papers of Messrs Hurst and Robinson, the publishers of the first numbers of Williams' Select Views in Greece, who were declared bankrupt in 1826, reveal the artist's losses. These are housed in the Public Record Office at Chancery Lane. The Longman's Archives at the University of Reading, provided details of the successor to Hurst and Robinson as the artist's publishers of the Select Views in Greece from 1826. The Journal of the Chief Secretary [presently unidentified] to the Governor of Malta and the Ionian Empire - Sir Thomas Maitland - at the Public Record Office at Kew, provided new and rare, if limited, chronological material on Williams and Douglas in the Aegean.

Summary.

The evidence for the life and work of Hugh Williams is scattered throughout many collections and published sources. The primary contribution of this research has been to gather material previously unrecorded or to draw attention to obscure private publications which refer to the artist. This has made it possible to be more certain of his birthplace, his presence in Edinburgh and his training. Collaboration with Mrs. Margaret Swain has revealed much new

information on the artist's guardian Louis Ruffini. New material has been gathered on the reasons for his continental journey and on Williams' final years in Edinburgh.

Hugh Williams' importance as a printmaker has been overlooked, except for short, one line entries in specialised literature. This subject has been addressed in Chapter 3 and in the Catalogue, which lists for the first time, all known prints by and after the artist. His most important publication, the Select Views in Greece [1823-29] has been examined in detail and this research has established the order of publication of the parts. Substantial use has been made of manuscript material to fill out the published record, providing new information on the artist's relationship with Louis Ruffini, his continental journey, the publication of his Select Views in Greece and his pupils. Authors before Hardie [1967], Bodmer [1975] and Halsby [1976] made very limited use of manuscript material.

In addition, some six hundred works by Williams were examined, in public and private collections in Britain and abroad. Research trips were made to Greece, on a Cotton Fellowship and to the United States on a Mellon Visiting Fellowship. In Greece it was possible to see six large Greek landscapes, some of which, such as the View of the Acropolis in Athens, in the Blackmer Collection, have been placed under export embargo by the Greek authorities apparently as a result of the rumbling discussion about the return of the Elgin marbles. In the United States a month was spent at the Yale Center for British Art, looking at their collection of eight works by Williams and comparing these with watercolours of the highest quality by other British watercolourists. In all over two hundred works, mainly in private collections, were photographed, many for the first time, and this allowed the significance of the artist's Scottish landscapes to be more fully understood and discussed.

1 WILLIAMS, H. W.: Travels in Italy, Greece and the Ionian Islands. Edinburgh [1820].

2 Williams, H. W.: 'Edinburgh and Athens' in CHAMBERS, Robert: Walks in Edinburgh Edinburgh [1829], 2nd ed., pp. 272-5.

3 Williams, H. W.: Select Views in Greece. Edinburgh [1829]. Published in parts between 1823 and 1829.

4 STARK, John: The Picture of Edinburgh. Edinburgh [1819] p. 243.

5 Edinburgh Annual Register 1816, The: Edinburgh [1820], 'View of the Progress and Present State of the Arts of Design in Britain', p. cccclxxvii. (This article was probably written in 1819. See Section XII, p. cccclxxxi).

6 WATSON, W.F.: Edinburgh, its houses and its noted inhabitants, being a Catalogue of the private collection of W. F. Watson, for the inspection of members of the Architectural Institute of Scotland, at his residence, No. 1 Preston Terrace, Newington, Edinburgh, on

- the Evening of Wednesday, 3rd May 1865 from 8 to 11 O'clock. Edinburgh [1865]. Nos. 134, 138, 142 and p.37. He catalogued Hawthornden as dated 1794 and his inscription on the verso of the work in the national Gallery of Scotland states that it is dated 1795. In fact it is dated 1796, but is most likely the same picture.
- 7 Clearly, not all of his collection went to the National Gallery of Scotland. As noted, the Craigmillar Castle is presently untraced and a very important group of watercolours with Watson's distinctive inscriptions can be found in the Williamson Art Gallery, Birkenhead (Cat. Nos. W. 72-74). These were presented by John McKay in 1930.
- 8 Now in the Glasgow Museum and Art Gallery, this Cat. No. W. 54-57.
- 9 BODMER, Rebecca S.: 'Hugh William Williams' (unpublished M. Litt. thesis University of Edinburgh). [1975] pp. 64, 66, 68, 73-76 and illustrations.
- 10 BRYDALL, Robert: Art in Scotland, its Origin and Progress. Edinburgh and London [1889] pp. 299-303.
- 11 Op. Cit. BRYDALL [1889] p. 302.
- 12 MCKAY, William D.: The Scottish School of Painting. London [1906] pp. 192-196.
- 13 Op. Cit. MCKAY [1906] p. 193.
- 14 CAW, James L.: Scottish Painting, Past and Present. 1620-1908. London [1908] pp. 60, 150-52, 206, 483.
- 15 Op. Cit. CAW [1908] p. 152.
- 16 CAW, James L.: 'Williams, Hugh William (1773-1829)' in Dictionary of National Biography. London [1909] Vol. 21, p. 407-8.
- 17 TAYLOR, E. A.: 'The Development of British Landscape Painting in Watercolours: Scottish Painters' in HOLME, Charles ed.: The Development of British Landscape painting in Water-colours. London [1918], p. 30.
- 18 TONGE, John: The Arts of Scotland. London [1938] pp. 76-7.
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Chapter 1.

BIOGRAPHY OF HUGH WILLIAMS.

1:1 *The Early Years, 1773-1800.*

New material has been found in the course of this research, which sheds greater light on the artist's early years and up-bringing. This section will deal with the artist's life from his birth and then from 1790, and his association with Louis Ruffini, in Edinburgh. The new material to be discussed includes a character sketch of the artist, the sequestration papers of Louis Ruffini, and a letter from Hugh Williams to Sir. Thomas Dick Lauder, dated 1814. None of this material has previously been consulted in relation to Hugh Williams. The significance of the artist's testament, first noted by Bodmer [1974], is also discussed for the first time. The material will be considered, in conjunction with the published accounts, as a means of seeing how the previous biography developed.

Perhaps the most important new source for the artist's biography is the previously unpublished character portrait:

My own truly attached friend and one of Harry Cockburn's favourites, is Hugh William Williams. He is well known to the public by the productions of his pencil as an artist and by a volume of Travels in Greece. Though he has seen rather more than half a century, because of his unbroken constitution and great elasticity of spirits, he may still be regarded as a man of forty years of age. He is in stature under the middle size and, without anything remarkable in form, he has a countenance beaming with intelligence and grace. He is now bald which displays the beautiful form of a very fine forehead; his eye is sunk but extremely penetrating; his nose not aquiline but projecting, and his mouth full, wide and compressed. Every line of his face is expressive of character, his look is steadfast and, from the only hair which now remains to him - rising as two tufts which curl over each ear and behind his head - he strikingly resembles some of the finest old heads in the paintings of Titian. I remember him before he became bald and, although the hair on the fore part of his head was always thin, yet, the whole contour of his bust was strikingly handsome.¹

This was written by the artist's friend, Dr. Anthony Todd Thomson [1778-1849], during a stay in Edinburgh in 1823. The Doctor was visiting his brother, the miniature painter

William John Thomson [1771-1845] who in 1829 was to be an executor on the artist's estate.

This is only a portion of the account, but there are many clues to the artist's life and the social context of his work, which make it worth quoting much of the remainder:

No man possesses a more elegant mind than he. Had it received the high cultivation of which it is truly susceptible, it would have attained a distinguished rank in literature for its possessor. As it is, it throws a charm over his social hours, his friendships and his art, which gain him the esteem and friendship of the most valuable part of Society. His very look speaks peace and benevolence; and, to those whom he esteems, his whole manner is enthusiastically warm and affectionate... As an artist, Hugh Williams is admired more for the poetic sentiment which breathes over all his productions than the mere drawing and workmanship of his landscapes. He is an ardent enthusiast in his art and has lost no opportunity of transferring to his portfolio all the finest views of his adopted country, for he is a native of Devonshire. However, from his long residence in Scotland, he considers that he is a Scotchman. He remained upwards of a year in Greece. One of the greatest treats is the liberty of turning over the sketches in his Grecian portfolio. Yet, it is a melancholy pleasure, for the thoughts of the past crowd upon the mind, while it reflects on the present state of the scenery it contemplates, - the glory of the noblest of the human race sunk under the oppression of tyranny and the barbarian superstition. I have gazed upon his views of Athens, Thebes and Corinth till my eyes have dimmed, and my heart sickened with the retrospect which they awakened. Views of a similar description do not exist anywhere else in Europe; consequently, few individuals of taste arrive in Edinburgh without obtaining an introduction to his painting room. From the long intercourse he has enjoyed with the opulence, rank and literary characters of his country, and the opportunity which he had during his travels of seeing and conversing with well-informed foreigners, his mind has received almost an equivalent for the deficiency of a higher education. He is in habits of intimacy with the first people in Scotland and, as he has the power, so he exercises the right of selecting his society. His associates out of his own profession are all clever men but few can boast of procuring more talent to grace his hospitable board and embellish his social hours than he. Everything around him is illustrative of the elegance of his mind; his house, his furniture, his books, his drawings and his companions all bespeak the man of taste and genuine refinement of soul, whilst truth, sincerity, real benevolence, candour, sterling worth and all that exalts the character of the good are well known to regulate his conduct.²

This account is important because it is clearly the opinion of someone who knew Williams well and it challenges the published theories that he was born at sea or in Wales. The only correction necessary is that Williams spent only a few months in Greece, on a continental tour which lasted just under two and a half years.

As observed in the Review of Literature, the present Williams biography has been arrived at by repetition and embellishment, rather than detailed research. Consequently, it is instructive to use the published accounts as a point of departure for the new biography.

The 'Shepherd', a character in Professor Wilson's *Noctes Ambrosianae* [1827],³ was the first to suggest that Hugh Williams had been born in Wales and this began the romantic haze

from which his biography rarely emerged. This inaccuracy found its way into the 1829 obituary in Blackwoods Magazine,⁴ where it was suggested that the assumption seemed to be confirmed by the artist's name. It may well be that all of the early references were based on nothing more than this kind of guess-work but it cannot be discounted that the artist himself encouraged the association with Wales, the birthplace of the landscape painter, Richard Wilson [1713?-1782]. In 1815 he sealed a letter to a friend with a signet incorporating the crest of the Williams family of Llangibby in Wales - a family with whom he had no known connection.⁵

The reference to Wales appeared again in the first Catalogue Descriptive and Historical, of the National Gallery of Scotland, in 1859.⁶ This became an authoritative source for all future publications. The error is surprising as the catalogue included in the Supplement [dated 1st December 1859], the collection of works by Williams, presented to the Gallery in that year by the artist's widow, and she might be presumed to be the source of the information. By the 35th edition of the Catalogue in 1899,⁷ and after his widow's death, the notion was presented for the first time, that Williams had been born at sea. In the Preface, James L. Caw was cited as an assistant with the publication and he is possibly the source of this new element in the biography, as he repeated it in his Scottish Painting, Past and Present [1908]⁸. He went on in that publication to extrapolate that the artist must therefore have been a native of Wapping, as that is where his birth should have been registered!

Caw published an inflated version of his 1908 Williams biography, in the very influential 1909 entry in the Dictionary of National Biography.⁹ There is no evidence to support any of his assumptions, except the reference to Louis Ruffini - and even that is not as clear as he suggests. Nevertheless, Caw's statement became the accepted version for all publications to the present day; David and Francina Irwin as late as 1975, tidied the tale by combining both versions, concluding that Williams was born at sea of Welsh parents. It is Caw's 1909 entry which provides a good starting place for the new biography:

Williams, Hugh William (1773-1829), landscape painter, the only child of Captain Williams by his wife, a daughter of Colonel Lewis, deputy governor of Gibraltar, was born on board his father's ship during a voyage to the West Indies. Losing both parents at an early age, he was brought up by his maternal grandmother and her second husband, Louis Ruffini, a member of an old Turin family, at Cragside House, Edinburgh. His grandfather, discovering his talent, encouraged him to become a painter...¹⁰

Caw is incorrect in a number of respects. He gives no references for his conclusions and his information is misleading. For example, from the artist's Testament it is known that Hugh Williams was not an only child. He had a sister, Mary Williams, who was living in Exeter.¹¹ Her companion at that time was the artist's niece, Elizabeth Wilson White.¹²

Mary Williams was born at Honiton in Devon in 1771, the daughter of John Williams and Mary Soper.¹³ Unfortunately the Parish Records for Honiton do not list any births to this couple between 1772, when they had a daughter, Sarah, and 1778, when they had a son, Henry. They may have moved to another parish, but a check of those nearby failed to locate the family. As the Old Parish Registers for Edinburgh state that Hugh Williams died in 1829 aged 56, he could have been born in the gap in the records.¹⁴ Consequently, it cannot be discounted that John Williams may have been a sea Captain and Williams may have been born at sea, but as yet there is no evidence to support such a theory.¹⁵ Until further evidence becomes available it should be assumed that Hugh Williams was indeed born in Devonshire, as stated by the contemporary witness Dr. Thomson.

James L. Caw is also the first writer on Williams to mention Louis Ruffini whom he states to have been the artist's step-grandfather.¹⁶ Unfortunately, once again he does not name his source and it is difficult to confirm his suggestion. Ruffini is however an important figure in the Williams story and new evidence has been found which establishes his contact the artist.

According to his own testimony, given when the war on the Continent obliged him to register as an alien in Edinburgh in 1790, Louis Ruffini [occasionally Luigi Ruffini or Ruffin, fl. 1760-1804] left Turin in about 1764 and arrived in Edinburgh in 1782.¹⁷ In September of that year he tried to set up an Academy at 141 Nicolson Street in the City, offering tuition in writing, arithmetic, Italian and French, with visiting masters teaching riding, fencing, dancing and military exercise.¹⁸ His plan was ambitious but there were no further advertisements after the first two and it is unlikely that the Academy prospered.¹⁹ It will be seen later that the Academy may have been resurrected as the Edinburgh Military Academy, established by another European exile, Major d'Asti.

As a result of his initial setback as a teacher, Ruffini changed tack, and in 1783 he set up a factory in Edinburgh producing white embroidery on muslin. This aspect of his work has

been considered in detail by Margaret Swain [1956].²⁰ Tambouring, as this was called, had been a fashionable pastime with women since the 1770's but the idea of a factory producing embroidered muslin, common on the Continent, was entirely new in Britain. Rolls of muslin were stretched out along tables, so that apprentice girls could sit on either side and embroider small floral borders or all-over designs, printed on the cloth from etched plates. (Figure 1: 1) This method was not strictly mechanised, but it was very efficient. As with many others developing innovative techniques of production, Ruffini applied to the Board of Manufactures in January 1783²¹ for assistance to pay his rent. Their records show that he made numerous applications, including one in March 1785 claiming that his apprentice girls, now 72 in number, were in poor health because of their working and living conditions.²² The Board allowed him £30,²³ a part of which was for the rental of new premises, Cragside House; the house where, according to James Caw, Williams was brought up. The Statistical Account of Scotland²⁴ records that Ruffini also had a factory at Musselburgh, near Edinburgh, and that, at the suggestion of the factor to the Duke of Buccleuch²⁵, he built another factory in Dalkeith in 1790.

On the 16th April 1790,²⁶ the same year in which he was called in to register as an alien, he married Mary Steel, daughter of John Steel of Jamaica, - a marriage which improved his immigrant status and may also have been intended to improve his finances. On the basis of the new information given above regarding Mary Williams, the artist's sister, there is, as yet, no evidence to confirm James Caw's statement that Mary Steel was Williams's maternal grandmother.

Ruffini was a poor businessman and in the same year as his marriage he was in serious financial difficulties. The trouble may have been related to an attempt to set up a factory in Glasgow²⁷ but certainly by March 1791 he had outstanding debts in excess of £1400.²⁸ His estate was sequestrated and in petitioning his Trustees for the use of his tambouring utensils and furniture he went on to state that he had hopes of raising a considerable sum from '**friends in the north of England**'. Some money did materialise, by March 1792, when the Trustee's Minutes record the names of William Cockayne, William Lewes and Miss Mary Lewes agreeing to pay just over £33. Later a '**Dr. Cockayne**' [William?] paid the £100 demanded by the Trustees for the use of furniture and utensils.²⁹

In the biography proposed by Caw [1909], he suggested that Hugh's mother was the daughter of a Colonel Lewis, Deputy Governor of Gibraltar. In fact, no officer of that name appears to have held an official post in Gibraltar.³⁰ However, this new evidence suggests that there may indeed be a family connection with the Lewis/Lewes family, none of which yet ties in with the proposed family tree given earlier for Mary Williams, the artist's sister. The new evidence is partially corroborated in a letter Williams wrote from Northumberland in 1814, addressed to [Sir] Thomas Dick Lauder, in which he stated that he was staying with his uncle. He went on, '**My Uncle is a Worthy Man esteemed and highly respected by the whole county**',³¹ but unfortunately, he does not name the gentleman and it has proved impossible, as yet, to identify him. The letter, posted in Belford, is decorated with sketches of Lindisfarne and Bamborough Castle.

The most important information for this research and which confirms the association with Hugh Williams, appears in a list of Ruffini's additional creditors:³²

Alex^r Meggat, Bookseller in Dalkeith for Louis Ruffins bill to him dated 27th Nov. 1790 @3[% interest].....£24.0 .0.

Do. [Alexander Meggat] for balance of Hugh Williams boarding from 12th June 1790 to 4th Feby. 1791..... £10.12.1.³³

This new evidence suggests that Hugh Williams aged sixteen, was working in Ruffini's factory in Dalkeith. Combined with the reference to be considered in Section 2, which suggests he trained with David Allan, it is likely that he was making up the designs to be embroidered by the apprentices and possibly supervising the printing of these on the muslin.

Ruffini's sequestration did not ease his position and he found himself pursued by other creditors in Edinburgh.³⁴ Ruffini spent some time in the Canongate prison, a petition from his surgeon securing his release. He was in prison again during legal proceedings against him in July 1804 and as a special concession on that occasion, he was allowed to dispense with wearing the simple grey cloth garment, traditionally provided by his creditors, which was the sign of a bankrupt. No information on Ruffini's activities after 1804 or his eventual fate, has yet been found.³⁵

Louis Ruffini obviously gave the young Hugh Williams entree to enlightened aristocratic, business, artistic and scientific circles in Scotland. His influence was positive and Williams' own single minded professionalism may be traced to him. His status as a bankrupt may, ironically, have led to an association with another European exile, the Comte d'Artois [1757-1836, known as 'Monsieur'] who sought refuge in Britain after the Revolution in France, and was given a suite of rooms at Holyrood Palace in Edinburgh in 1796. This gave him protection from his creditors and probably guaranteed a meeting with Ruffini, as the³⁶ precincts of Holyrood were a sanctuary for bankrupts. Later, Williams was to present the Count, by then restored as Charles X of France, with a copy of his Select Views in Greece and received in return, a gilt medal and letter of thanks, now preserved in the National Galleries of Scotland, framed with the bas-relief portrait of Williams, by Sir John Steell.

Ruffini's achievement in encouraging the Board of Manufactures to look again at the type of training given to young artists, to enable them to contribute to the world of commerce, has been explored by Margaret Swain.³⁷ His insistence on having trained artists to provide patterns for his apprentices to embroider, is significant in the history of art in Scotland. This and the training of Hugh Williams will be considered in the next section.

1:2. *Education and Training, 1782-1800.*

Two published references to the training of Hugh Williams, one made during his lifetime, will be reviewed in this Section and new material will be presented to augment these references. The new material includes a known work - an etched outline which has until now been regarded as a watercolour - and a previously unknown watercolour of St. Bernard's Well, in Edinburgh. Supporting evidence will be presented which suggests that this watercolour may be dated to c.1790, making it the earliest identified work by the artist. This new material will be discussed in relation to the work of David Allan and Alexander Nasmyth and comparative material by these artists will be presented. In addition, new evidence will be discussed, which suggests a link between Hugh Williams and Major d'Asti, the founder of the Edinburgh Military Academy and a leading figure in the émigré community in which Williams was raised.

It has proved impossible to say with any certainty where Hugh Williams attended school. He does not appear in the records of any of the well known schools in Edinburgh and by the time Ruffini paid for his lodging in Dalkeith, Williams, aged seventeen, would have been past school age.³⁸ It is possible to make an informed guess with regard his schooling, the most obvious suggestion, in view of Ruffini's efforts to establish an Academy in 1782 is that he was educated at home. Indeed, the list of Ruffini's creditors in 1791 included an amount of £45 due in arrears of wages prior to 18th April 1791, to one Susanah Weirman or Wiseman 'teacher to Louis Ruffini'.³⁹ This would correspond to the tenor of Dr. Todd Thomson's character portrait, quoted earlier, which implied that Williams did not have a standard education.

As to his formal training as an artist, Williams is said to have trained with David Allan [1744-1796]⁴⁰, in a reference of 1819 which is presumably the source of all later references:

Mr. H. W. Williams, whose eminence as a landscape painter is well known, received the first rudiments of his art from Mr. Allan.⁴¹

He was also, according to James Nasmyth, one of the artists 'helped' by his father Alexander.⁴² On the evidence available it is likely that Williams trained as a pattern designer with Allan,

picking up his skills as a colourist and as an etcher from him. New evidence in the form of a watercolour by Williams, datable on internal evidence to around 1790, supports the published suggestion that Williams was helped by Alexander Nasmyth. It is likely that this assistance took the form of lessons but evidence will be presented which suggests that the master/pupil relationship was not a clear one. Both of these references will now be examined in more detail.

1:2.1 *David Allan [1744-1796].*

On the death of the their Drawing master, Alexander Runciman [1736-1785], the Trustees of the Board of Manufactures re-assessed the type of education offered by their Drawing Academy. During Runciman's tenure at the Trustees' Academy the emphasis had moved considerably away from the original purpose - the teaching of design - towards art as an academic study. The blame for this fell on Runciman whose indolence is recorded in the Secretary's Report, produced for the Trustees, but some of the difficulty also arose from students being accepted to study drawing '**as a polite art**'.⁴³ The Secretary approached a number of professional gentlemen, including the architect Robert Adam [1728-1792] and Dr. John Roebuck [1718-1794], to see if they thought the Academy should continue. The response was that the Academy should have a master who could teach pattern design. On the 14th June 1786 David Allan was appointed with a narrowly defined brief to teach design and to provide designs for manufactured objects. He was also obliged to submit designs himself on an annual basis and did so in January 1788⁴⁴ with designs for carpets and for a damask tablecloth in 1790.⁴⁵ As Louis Ruffini first applied to send his apprentices to the Trustees Academy on 13th February 1786,⁴⁶ and recommended the son of Dr. Roebuck to the King of Sardinia in 1789, he must be seen as part of the movement for change.⁴⁷

Francina Irwin has given some indication of the complexity of teaching involved in what is loosely called 'pattern design' and one of the most interesting aspects of this, related directly to the watercolour techniques used by Hugh Williams, is the printing and colouring of calico and linen. Until the mid 1780's, when roller printing began to appear, all cloth was printed from wood blocks or copper plates, the latter etched in just the same way as printing plates. Before the discovery of a green which could be printed directly, one of the subtleties of

colouring designs [which were largely based on plant and flower forms] involved the creation of a green, by hand. This was done by printing with a blue colour and having workers - mainly women, known as 'pencillers' - lay the yellow colour over the blue to create the illusion of green. Hugh Williams would undoubtedly have been taught etching as well as this colouring technique, as part of the repertoire of skills necessary to be a pattern designer. Having said this, Hugh Williams is not mentioned in *any* of the lists of apprentices sent to the Trustees Academy which suggests that he did not have any contact with David Allan there.

Allan also ran private classes in Dickson's Close in Edinburgh. Brydall [1889]⁴⁸ suggested that his fees of one Guinea per month, for three lessons per week, restricted pupils to the most wealthy. Crouther Gordon [1951]⁴⁹ following other published sources, listed only Williams and John Erskine of Torrie as his pupils, the latter sent to study architectural drawing. However, Lady Mary Hogg [d.1795] was also a pupil in 1785 as was her daughter, near the end of Allan's life.⁵⁰ The miniature painter Andrew Robertson [1777-1845] might have been a pupil at Dickson's Close in 1792 but for the fact that he discovered Allan '**taught nothing but in the ornament way**'.⁵¹ This would suggest that Hugh Williams attended Allan's private classes, to study pattern design.

Allan had a range of styles associated with the diverse areas in which he practised. He was a print maker and illustrator as well as a painter, in both oil and watercolour. The protégé of the Erskine family he had trained at the Foulis Academy in Glasgow, and they continued to support him during an extended stay in Rome from 1767 to 1778, interspersed with visits home. Allan became acquainted with Gavin Hamilton [1723-1798] in Rome and painted works such as The Origin of Painting in 1775 [NGS] in a classical idiom. There are surprising weaknesses in his drawing considering the amount of time he spent at the Foulis and in Rome but these weaknesses, most obvious in his portraiture, were accommodated by his decision to specialise in genre. Paul Sandby [1731-1809] purchased and made aquatints from Allan's Roman Carnival series and it is most likely that he and Allan were on familiar terms. Sandby is said to have used his influence to ensure Allan's appointment to the Trustees Academy.⁵²

Allan painted some of his best large watercolours while in Italy and a pair of these survive in Glasgow. The watercolours, Evening Amusement at Rome (Figure 1: 2) and

Evening Amusement at Naples [1769, GAGM] appear to depict Sir William Hamilton [1730-1803] at leisure with musicians and dancing rustics. Although quite faded, these works are delicately handled, with well controlled aerial perspective. However in the first [Rome] the buildings are outlined with a brush which reduces them to the status of pattern in the composition, rather than architectural form.

During the period when Williams may have been in contact with Allan, the latter painted topographical watercolours of a much inferior quality such as Moffat Mineral Well [1795, NGS, on loan from the Trustees of Mrs. Magdalene Sharpe Erskine](Figure 1: 3). In this work and to a lesser extent in some of his other Italian watercolours, Allan used an ink outline, even for the most distant edges in the landscape. He did not apparently develop his technique to try and create any delicacy of aerial perspective.⁵³ In the late landscapes he painted in a way which began to approach a fuller watercolour style, with the whole picture area coloured. However, his use of colour is not systematised in any way and there are various mixtures of greens for example, for different parts of the landscape, which suggest mixing in the palette. Allan's method of colouring is certainly not the refined method used by Hugh Williams and which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 2. One very early work by Williams, to be discussed later, shows an outlining treatment, very similar to that visible in Allan's Evening Amusement at Rome. In general however Hugh Williams' earliest signed and dated works, such as Evening, A View of Loch Lomond from Knockour Wood [1794, Christies 18th June 1980, Lot. 86] and View of Hawthornden [1796, NGS] (Cat. No. W. 9.), demonstrate that at least from 1794 he was capable of using a faint pencil outline and creating the most subtle aerial perspective. His early watercolour technique is hurried and stylised, but his ability to capture light is already highly developed. There is no use of an inked outline in these works, either with a brush or a pen.

The underlying drawing in Williams' works is freehand, never drawn with the aid of a ruler. Allan's drawing of buildings on the other hand is laboured in its accuracy - surprising for someone said to have taught architectural drawing and perhaps the result of poor eye-sight in old age. In his drawing The Stool of Repentance [1795, NGS] the structure is clearly drawn with a ruler. Most rigid of all is his etched outline View of the High Street of Edinburgh & the

Commissioners going to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland [1793, YCBA](Figure 1:4). Allan is often reputed to have drawn with studied carelessness but what is most surprising about the drawing and the etching mentioned above, is that he made no attempt to conceal the use of a ruler. Lines are clearly shown crossing each other and continuing beyond the point where they should have stopped, completely destroying the perspective. If a rough and ready effect had been intended, then this would have been best achieved by the use of free-hand. The examples given do not strictly compare like with like. Buildings in Williams' work, such as View of Hawthornden [1796, NGS](Cat. No. W. 9) are small and distant while in the works mentioned by Allan, they occupy a large part of the picture area. However, even in the drawing of a larger structure such as Glasgow Cathedral, in Williams' etched outline High Church and Infirmary of Glasgow from the North East [1794, NGS] (Cat. No. P. 1) there is not a trace of the use of a ruler. The line is made by a confident hand - a feature of Williams' work until the end of his life.

As part of his training as a pattern designer, Hugh Williams almost certainly learned to etch under Allan. The latter's View of the High Street of Edinburgh... [1793, YCBA] mentioned above, predates by a year, Williams' etched outline, High Church and Infirmary of Glasgow from the North East [available from 1794, NGS].⁵⁴ The High Church... is an unusual work, which survives in many colourings from 1794-96. It was presumably made to meet the demand for topographical views and, from the evidence of surviving examples, was coloured to order. The only other artist in Britain known to have produced etched outlines of such a size, was Francis Nicholson [1753-1844]. He made views in Scarborough and London using this technique in order to meet popular demand.

As explained, the Williams etching is drawn freehand and has none of the stiff formality of Allan's ruler-drawn work. It also exhibits a remarkable freedom of handling in the etched foreground detail. Williams appears to have used a quill pen, dipped in the acid, to create rapid, attacking lines. Where pressure has been applied, the quill has opened, creating short sections of parallel lines. This unusual method could have been inspired by Allan, who was well known for his '**expressive and characteristic designs**'⁵⁵ and if so then his inspiration, in turn, was probably continental. Kim Sloan recently pointed out that C. L. Clérissieu [1772-

1820], J. L. Desprez [1743-1804], G. B. Lusieri [1755-1821] and A. L. R. Ducros [1748-1810] all made etched outlines while in Rome, in order to meet demand for their work.⁵⁶ According to Meusel [1786], Ducros was also preparing a treatise [untraced] on making etchings with a brush and quill pen.⁵⁷ Allan would have been acquainted with some or all of these artists through his contact with Sir William Hamilton in Rome and Naples. Once again however, there is difficulty understanding why Allan's work in the medium of the etched outline was so stiff and why it was Williams who made use of the free technique.

What is also surprising is that Williams, while he made etchings from 1794, did not tackle aquatint himself - an area in which Allan's temperament found complete expression and of which he was an undoubted master. An artist working on the plate as Williams did, with free flowing acid, must have had an interest in the possibilities offered by aquatint and certainly the process was not shrouded in secrecy in 1794 as it had been earlier.⁵⁸ John Eginton [fl.1790-95] produced Williams' first aquatint, Craigmillar Castle (Cat. No. P. 2.) in 1795, and the set of six large aquatint views of Scottish scenery, published in 1813, were made by Charles Turner [1773-1857] and Frederick Lewis [1779-1856] (Cat. Nos. P. 35-40). Williams, on the other hand used the soft ground etching technique from 1800 - a process developed by Paul Sandby but not used by David Allan.

It is also surprising that Williams struggled with figure drawing until the Associated Artists set up life classes in Edinburgh around 1811. While Allan may have drawn figures in a very personal way, with some freedom in the interpretation of anatomy, he was an enthusiastic figure draughtsman and this is the area in which he is most appreciated. His are just the type of figures which would have enlivened Williams' large Scottish landscapes. In watercolours by Williams, poorly drawn figures are often pencilled in, but not coloured in the final work, or they are indicated with small blobs of colour as in City of Glasgow [c. 1792, GAGM](Cat. No. W. 1). If they are tackled as linear drawings, the result can often look stilted as in Scene in the Highlands with Cattle [1803, VAM](Cat. No. W. 43), where the surface of the paper is rubbed with changes. In most cases, and to a noticeable extent, figures are omitted altogether in Williams' work. However, by 1816 and as a result of the classes run by the Associated Artists in Edinburgh, Williams' figure drawings had improved so dramatically that

he was able to place them more prominently in the composition, as in Landscape, [1816, PC](Figure 1:5).

Hugh Williams could have trained with David Allan as a pattern designer and this may have occurred between 1786 and Louis Ruffini's financial collapse in 1790, where, significantly, Allan is not listed as a creditor. While with Allan, Williams could also have learned the skills of etching and a colouring technique which he carried over to his watercolours. However, he appears to have brought his own sensitivity of line to his watercolours and it is this which is his major contribution to the medium in Scotland.

As has been noted Williams is also said to have been helped by Alexander Nasmyth.

1:2.2 *Alexander Nasmyth [1758-1840].*

Hugh Williams' relationship with Alexander Nasmyth⁵⁹ was probably much closer than his son's remark suggests and evidence has been found to suggest a formal teaching relationship. However, other evidence suggests strong rivalry between them, on an artistic level. Alexander Nasmyth was fifteen years older than Williams and had studied with Allan Ramsay before travelling to Rome in 1782. On his return to Edinburgh in 1785 he had a successful career as a portrait painter until the early 1790's, when a poorly understood crisis of confidence occurred. Cooksey [1991] and others have suggested that this was the result of political differences with his sitters, but the change in his work has never been fully explained. What is clear is that Nasmyth began to paint more landscapes, developing ideas already present in the elaborate landscape backgrounds to his large portraits. What has not previously been noted is how few of these very early landscapes conform to the fashionable Claudian formulae which would eventually dominate Nasmyth's work.

Nasmyth's early landscapes such as the six wall paintings made for Lawers House [c.1785, PC] or the View of Dalkeith Park with Stags [PC], painted for the Buccleuch family, respond to something more dramatic and more theatrical than Claude. This may also be said of his dramatic and 'close up' views of the waterfalls on the Clyde which respond, not to Claude - waterfalls are not Claudian - but to Dutch landscape and the earlier paintings of these subjects by Jacob More [?1740-1793]. These works seem in general to respond to Salvator Rosa

in their foreboding cliffs and dark overhung spaces. Even when working on distant views such as Inveraray from Loch Fyne [1801, PC] Nasmyth did not include the comfortable Claudian tree surrounds but allowed the water to fill the lower third of the composition and rather unnervingly, approach and surround the viewer. It seems that Nasmyth was seeking something entirely new, a break, not only with portraits but with their Claudian landscape backgrounds, which he could obviously paint with ease.

One of the most significant changes in Nasmyth's life in the 1790's; a financial necessity in view of his change of subject matter from portraiture to landscape, was his association with the theatre. Cooksey [1991] has drawn attention to this and noted that his first scenery was painted for the Dumfries Theatre in 1792. However she makes an error in believing that a certain Mr. 'Cheap' Cooper worked *for* Alexander Nasmyth. Cooper is an important figure about whom very little has been published.⁶⁰ He was employed for a time at the Theatre Royal in Edinburgh and prior to that, at the New Circus in Glasgow. He died in 1802 and his posthumous sale catalogue [in The Hague and not mentioned by Cooksey] lists drawings by Antonio Canaletto [1697-1768] and G. B. Piranesi [1720-1778]. The references have to be treated with care as the catalogue also includes prints after these artists, but they are clearly listed as 'Drawings'.⁶¹ Perhaps more importantly he also offered stage designs - 'Palace Scenes' - by Jacob More, a 'sketch of a drop scene' by Alexander Runciman. He also painted topographical works, in bodycolour, none of which are known today under his name. From this list it is clear that 'Cheap' Cooper had been involved with the theatre in Scotland for some considerable time, as Jacob More left Scotland for Italy in 1773 and did not return. There is evidence, which will be considered in the next section of the biography, to suggest that Hugh Williams also worked with Cooper in 1793. As a result of the difference in age and the recorded work, it is more likely that Alexander Nasmyth worked *for*, or at the very least, alongside Cooper, rather than having Cooper work *for* him, as suggested by Cooksey.⁶²

It was during his period of change that Nasmyth also began to establish a school, at his house in York Place, Edinburgh. His teaching flourished, and when they grew up, his six daughters were employed to meet the demand. As Cooksey [1991] has pointed out, the most common subject for pupils was St. Bernard's Well, on the banks of the Water of Leith, in

Edinburgh. A neo-classical temple, the design based on the Temple of the Sybil at Tivoli, this had been designed by Nasmyth himself in 1789 and stood romantically on the river bank. As a subject it offered a picturesque arrangement while at the same time presenting a very tricky problem in perspective.

During the course of this research a watercolour was discovered, which may be the earliest example of the work of Hugh Williams (**Figure 1:6**). Unfortunately, the work is in very poor condition, so that little can be said about the artist's use of colour. Subsequently offered for sale as St. Bernard's Well Dean Village, Edinburgh,⁶³ it shows the Well, standing on the left, with the Water of Leith chattering over rocks, towards the viewer. On the right, a rocky outcrop with a tree, which crudely suggests the menacing rocks in the work of Salvatore Rosa. There are many features of the work which correspond to techniques employed by Williams. Most obviously, the landscape is not outlined in ink although the temple is partially outlined with the brush. Even allowing for its condition, it shows considerable subtlety of aerial perspective. The trees, particularly those on the left, are characteristic of Williams with crescent shaped 'clouds' of foliage, edged with small darker dots and squiggles. The tree on the right is hastily drawn with the brush, in an early form of the squiggled '3' shapes, which would later become the most instantly recognisable feature of a Williams work. The river rushes towards the viewer and is represented by over-enthusiastic scratching out, a feature which would appear again in works such as View of Dunkeld, Perthshire c.1799, PAGM]. Lastly, there are two figures, drawn in pencil, standing on the path just to the left of the entrance to the Well. They are uncoloured; a feature of the artist's hesitation with regard to figures, referred to earlier. To count against it, the work is painted on a sheet of laid paper, itself laid down across the wire impressions of another sheet of laid paper. This technique appears in five watercolours by James Stevenson [1780-1844], also discovered during the course of this research. Stevenson is uncomfortably close to Williams in style and most of the works in the Doubtful Attribution section of the attached Catalogue, are by him. In the case of this work, he would have been around ten years old when it was painted, and was probably too young to be the artist.

The watercolour, if it is strictly accurate, shows St. Bernard's Well at a critical stage in its design. Having been started in 1789, the Well was only complete when a Coade stone figure of Hygea was placed in the centre of the ring of Tuscan columns, in September 1791. The figure was always considered too large for its place, and comments to this effect were published by Stoddart [1801].⁶⁴ The figure of Hygea does not appear in this watercolour which therefore dates it to around 1790, the period in Hugh Williams' life when, as a result of Louis Ruffini's sequestration, he began to re-consider his future. The young artist's difficulties with the lower courses of masonry are clearly visible. It is very likely that this is indeed an early work by Hugh Williams, but the struggles it represents were quickly overcome. By 1793 Williams was teaching in his own Academy in Glasgow.

Alexander Nasmyth, in the few landscape watercolours which survive, shows himself to be the most refined watercolour artist in Scotland before Hugh Williams. He handles his subjects in a very controlled way, with subtle use of colour and shading. As befits a stage designer who was also a professional painter in oil, he resorts freely to body-colour, to highlight quite large areas of foliage in the foreground. In this respect he is more cautious than Williams and he does not use the most refined form of the three colour method adopted by the younger man, which will be explained in Chapter 2. In his watercolours Nasmyth uses a hard ink outline and then, out of necessity, body-colour to create the illusion of aerial perspective.

The problems created by the hard outline can clearly be seen in Edinburgh from St. Anthony's Chapel [1789, NGS] (Figures 1:7 and 1:8). His use of pen and ink outline compresses the perspective, even when the distant parts are made lighter. It is with difficulty that the eye accepts the sense of perspective imposed by the figures, of diminishing size, placed strategically further and further from the viewer. The orange body-colour, highlighting the foreground bush, is an acknowledgement of this and is an effort to create the illusion of depth. It alerts the eye to the presence of the bush, in front of the darker vegetation.

In the watercolour of St. Bernard's Well, discussed above [very close in date to Nasmyth's Edinburgh from St. Anthony's Chapel] Williams displays remarkable control of aerial perspective. There are no obtrusive outlines and distance is created purely by the intensity of colour with light spilling from right to left. This might suggest that Williams' very

earliest efforts with the watercolour medium were encouraged by Louis Ruffini. Although rarely acknowledged in British literature, continental watercolour practice, in this respect, was well ahead of British work.

If Williams was Alexander Nasmyth's pupil in 1790, he very soon began to overtake him in originality of view. Even allowing for the difference in age, they obviously inspired and influenced each other, to the extent that it is often difficult to know who was imitating whom. In one instance Nasmyth painted a view of Roslin Castle with Roslin Chapel for Sir James Erskine Sinclair, that was seen by Joseph Farington in 1801. It is not known when it was painted, but it is identical in composition to a watercolour by Williams of Rosslyn Castle, dated 1795. Similarly, Nasmyth is credited with having painted a large drop scene at the Theatre Royal in Glasgow in 1805, which showed a '**view of the Clyde, looking towards the Highland Mountains, with Dumbarton Castle in the middle distance**'.⁶⁵ Cooksey [1991] noted an undated drawing of this scene [NGS, D5030/verso] but could find no painting of the subject by Nasmyth. Hugh Williams had painted exactly this scene in 1794 [PC] and such was the demand that he painted a number of versions, in 1796 and 1797 [both PC] (See **Colour Plate II**, after p. 135). Later, in 1810 Nasmyth painted a large oil canvas of Loch Tay with Kenmore Church and Bridge [PC] which is a copy of the same subject by Williams, painted in 1799. Williams exhibited his version at the Royal Academy, London in 1800 [Cat. No. W. 21], twelve years before Nasmyth exhibited there.

On other occasions Nasmyth led the way, particularly with his views of waterfalls. His earliest, two unusual works in gouache on grey paper [both, AM] were published in 1791 while the earliest known 'close up' views of waterfalls were painted by Williams in 1797.⁶⁶ Nasmyth tended to imitate earlier views by Jacob More but enjoyed choosing viewpoints which place the viewer at the upper level of the oncoming water - a strategy which adds to the tension. Williams appears to have used a similar technique in his River Landscape (Bonnington Linn) [1797, PC]⁶⁷, standing the viewer at water level and filling the frame with exaggerated cliffs on each side of the gorge. This left little room for the Fall and had the alarming effect of making the water appear to flow around the viewer's feet. The anxiety caused by having the water approach the viewer, either in a river or a lake, is an artistic ploy Williams learned from

Nasmyth. Williams was looking for the unusual view, and was not prepared to accept the stock viewpoints of others such as Jacob More. In some cases his views of particular falls are the earliest known and the pair to the River Landscape above, shows the Fall at Dunira, also dated 1797 [PC].

Williams' style of draughtsmanship up to about 1810 would suggest that other influences had been at work before his association with Alexander Nasmyth. Nasmyth's drawings are, as Macmillan has pointed out, very analytical.⁶⁸ In his A Farmyard Gate [1807](Figure 1:9) the general outline is built up with very soft pencil lines which are then reinforced once or twice to create depth and shadow. In a drawing by Williams, such as Melrose Abbey [c.1804], (Cat. No. D. 10), the form is fully outlined very early in the process and is not shaded or reinforced - it is much more the style of an architect. After 1810 Williams began to use a more expressive line in his drawings. This technique, visible in The Great Fall at Moness [c.1812, PAGM](Cat. No. D. 14) and in chalk drawing, Trees at Dunkeld [BM, c.1815](Cat. No. D 13) is still not analytical; there is no searching for the image, but the line is softer and broader. This softening could have come about as a result of any number of influences by this date. The two styles of draughtsmanship in Williams' work will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.

1:2.3 *John Graham [1754-1817].*

There is another possibility which bears some examination, and this is that Williams was came under the considerable influence of John Graham. There is no specific evidence that he trained with Graham but there are important aspects to his career which point to an influence. Graham was one of the applicants for the job of Master of the Trustees Academy, on the death of David Allan in 1796. He came well recommended but for some reason the Trustees chose a Mr. Wood, who was eventually dismissed in 1800 for having submitted for examination, work which was not his own. Strong forces were however at work among a group of interested parties, who felt the need for a teacher of Fine or 'polite' Art, to work alongside the master of the Academy. Remarkably, this was achieved and John Graham was

appointed by the Trustees in February 1798, to be a 'Public teacher in Art in Edinburgh'. Graham agreed to teach a group of not more than twenty pupils, for which he was paid by the Trustees. He arrived in Edinburgh shortly after August 1798 and shortly afterwards, met with a Committee of the Trustees to discuss his plans. It was agreed that the Academy '**should be conducted, as far as possible, upon the same plan that is adopted in the Royal Academy of London**'⁶⁹ As will be seen in Chapter 1.4, Hugh Williams had set up his own Academy in Glasgow in 1793 with the advertised intention of conducting it '**on a plan similar to the Academies of London and Edinburgh**', which must be seen as a reaction to the lack of Fine or 'polite' Art teaching, available in both Edinburgh and Glasgow.⁷⁰ His was not of course the only such Academy and George Walker [fl.1768-1815], among others, ran an Academy in Edinburgh from at least 1782.⁷¹

Those areas where John Graham's professional interests and those of Hugh Williams overlap are numerous and important. They included the Theatre, where Graham painted the portraits of well known figures from 1784, becoming more involved during his period in Edinburgh. He also produced the illustrations for the first edition of Thomas Campbell's first book, *Pleasures of Hope* published in Edinburgh in 1799. It will be shown in Chapter 3 that from 1800, Hugh Williams produced illustrations [presently untraced] some of which were engraved for Campbell's next project, an unpublished poem on the subject of Edinburgh entitled 'Queen of the North'. John Graham also resorted freely to the engraver to publicise his work, perhaps more than any other Scottish artist, and indeed many of his paintings are only known through engravings. Williams began a growing trend towards publication in 1794. Lastly, Graham had exhibited with the Royal Academy since 1780 and had the ear of Benjamin West and a large number of influential patrons in London. This was just the sort of influence which might have encouraged Hugh Williams to exhibit at the Royal Academy, from 1800.

1:2.4 Major d'Asti and the Military Academy.

There is some evidence for other influences on the young artist's style, which may explain his accurate drawing. In the same book in which Louis Ruffini registered his alien

status in Edinburgh in 1790, one Alexander D'Asti, did the same, stating that he was a native of Germany, who had come to London in 1764. He was a teacher of modern languages, music and fencing. From his enthusiastic description of his activities it is clear he had also been a soldier - **'I have had 24 children, some of whom are now in the British Service and as I have myself fought and bled in defence of our gracious King and Constitution...'** Major D'Asti spent two years at the Royal Military Academy at Luneville, before establishing the Edinburgh Military Academy in 1787 [when Williams would have been fourteen], an establishment which survived until 1858. D'Asti's published prospectus for the Academy noted that:

An expertness in drawing, acquired on the principles of perspective, will forward the student in his progress; make him find the illustrations of science easy and pleasing to himself; and render him capable of important military service on a variety of subjects and occasions.⁷²

Later, in the same publication he listed classes in **'Fortification & drawing plans - £3.3.0'** and **'Drawing - £1.11.6.'**, which, with the additional charge, may have been taught by someone from outside the Academy in the same way that Ruffini had suggested importing expertise.⁷³ In fact, D'Asti's description of his intentions in 1787 is remarkably similar to those published by Ruffini in 1782. Possibly in confirmation of a connection with D'Asti, a watercolour, Castle Inveraray, Loch Fyne appeared for sale in London in 1991, signed and dated by Williams in 1798. It carried an inscription which included a reference to **'Colonel Astey'**⁷⁴ whom I take to be the same gentleman, having consulted the Edinburgh Post Office Directories and found no other likely person.

Williams used a very military approach when he circumnavigated the City of Athens on his arrival there in May 1817, taking panoramic views from distant points. He also recommended the use of a glass [in the context, a telescope] to enable careful drawing.⁷⁵ A military-style training in fortification and drawing plans would explain the accuracy of his drawings of architectural subjects and may help to throw light on his later association with well known architects.

Having been unable to discover any indication of Williams' early education in the known establishments it seems most likely that he was privately tutored by Ruffini and educated within his circle of European exiles. The range of accomplishments offered in his

private academy [even though it does not appear to have prospered] and by D'Asti at the Military Academy, would explain the easy way in which Williams later moved in fashionable society in Britain and on the Continent. A presumed fluency in Italian, French and possibly German, a knowledge of riding and fencing and a working knowledge of needlework would have made him a particularly desirable and charming companion in the country houses he visited. All these skills would also have found a ready use in the theatre.

It is apparent from his earliest watercolours that Hugh Williams worked with a more refined technique than either David Allan or Alexander Nasmyth. He did not use pen and ink outline in a finished watercolour and used a highly disciplined form of the red, blue and yellow method, giving him enormous control of colour and tone. This is not to say that there are no drawings by Williams in pen and ink, but these are almost always coloured in sepia or Indian ink wash. Williams also very rarely used bodycolour to create the illusion of depth or perspective in his work and this is surprising, for an artist who, from early in his career was also working in the theatre, painting scenery in opaque colours.⁷⁶ He would have been well aware of the possibilities of the gouache medium, but either made the decision to limit himself to what could be achieved in water colour alone, or had been trained to do so by Louis Ruffini. Although there is no evidence of any specific training by Ruffini, Williams was obviously raised by a skilled artist in his own field of embroidery. It seems clear that he spent some time with David Allan as a pattern designer and he was almost certainly taught by Alexander Nasmyth. However, his feeling for watercolour may have been instilled earlier and come from Ruffini, particularly since the delicate use of aerial perspective can be traced to European sources, before it was widely practised in England.

There are other aspects of the work of Hugh Williams which may be explained by a close association with the theatre, early in his career. There is evidence that, like Alexander Nasmyth he painted stage scenery and this will be considered next.



1:3. *Acting and Scene Painting, 1790-1800.*

This Section highlights new material which suggests that Hugh Williams painted stage scenery, and as a result, also found himself on the stage as an actor. The material regarding this new aspect of his career is not conclusive, but when discussed within the framework of known information, it is compelling.

The style of the military topographer does not explain Williams' use of elaborate Claudian repoussoirs in his earliest works such as Rosslyn Castle [1795](Cat. No. W. 7) and nor does it explain the stylistic shorthand which characterised his treatment of trees. For all its delicacy, the early work of Williams is marked by the evidence of its rapidity of execution; leaves are represented by rapidly painted '3's, over a roughly sketched outline. This may be the result, as was suggested by Halsby [1986]⁷⁷ of trying to meet demand, and from the existence of the etched outline mentioned in the last section, it is known he was in demand. For the influences which shaped these techniques it is necessary to look to the theatre.

There is evidence to suggest that Hugh Williams may have been involved with the theatre - possibly as an actor from as early as 1790 and as a scene painter in 1797. His acting should not be considered a remarkable occurrence. In 1816 David Roberts accepted £1.10.0 per week offered in the Theatre rather than 18/- as a journeyman painter, reluctantly agreeing as part of the contract, to act as well as paint the scenery.⁷⁸

The evidence for the possibility of Williams having acted is to be found in Norma Armstrong's exhaustive study of the Edinburgh stage, from 1715-1820. She lists very carefully all of the performances by a certain '**Mr. Williams**' in Edinburgh between 1790 and 1804. These performances are best understood if placed within a modified version of the Chronology given at the beginning of this thesis, and this has been set out as Appendix II.

There are a number of observations to be made on the information provided in Appendix II, the first being, unfortunately, that '**Mr. Williams**' is never referred to in any of the advertisements by his Christian name.

'Mr. Williams' made his first appearance on the Edinburgh stage in December 1790 as FRANCIS in Henry IV Part 1. He appeared again continuously between February and May 1791, in the same theatre. Norma Armstrong did not, for obvious reasons, consider performances by 'Mr Williams' in Glasgow. Had she done so, she would probably have come to the conclusion that they represent the same person. This research has found that 'Mr. Williams' next performed with the New Circus in Glasgow in April and May of 1793. These performances and the series of advertisements which accompanied them will be examined later. Armstrong then noted performances in the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh in March and April 1795. By the 20th April, 'Mr. Williams' was back in Glasgow, playing LORD RANDOLPH in Douglas and the advertisement for the play noted that this was 'Mr. Williams'' first performance 'here', by which it meant the Glasgow Theatre. This is indeed the case, as this research has found that he did not appear in any previous performances at the Glasgow Theatre. It is noteworthy that the walk on part in 1790 as the innocent boy, FRANCIS, in Shakespeare's Henry IV Part I, is appropriate to a young man setting out, and the roles become more demanding as the number of performances grow. There is also every indication that 'Mr Williams' was a successful actor and yet, from the information available, he did not apparently pursue his career after 1804.

On the 27th February 1793 a CIRCUS opened in Jamaica Street in Glasgow. The early advertisements for the Circus, run by George Jones [fl.1779-1795]⁷⁹ do not list performers, the events being more in the manner of a spectacle, with horses and tumbling. 'Mr. Williams' is not listed as a performer. The performance often included a pantomime and the one which inaugurated the New Circus was advertised to close on the 2nd March 1793. In the same newspaper as this notice, the earliest advertisement for the Academy run by Hugh Williams and Alexander Galloway appeared directly beneath it.

In May of that year, 'Mr. Williams' began to be listed in minor roles in the pantomimes. He is listed as a GUARD in a benefit performance on the 1st May 1793⁸⁰ and as a BANDITTI in the next Pantomime; *Assassination*.⁸¹ The Circus closed in June but there followed a series of advertisements for the Glasgow Theatre; 'Mr. Williams' is not listed among the performers. The final performance of the season was advertised on the 13th June 1793; in the subsequent issue of the Glasgow Courier, on the 18th, in the same position as the previous

advertisements for the Theatre, an advertisement re-appeared for the Williams and Galloway Drawing Academy. This sequence of final Theatre advertisements followed by the first notice of the Drawing Academy - occurred again in September 1793⁸² and in May the following year.⁸³ The pattern is repeated often enough for there to be a possible link. What is important is that 'Mr. Williams' is not mentioned as an actor in any of these performances, nor is he listed as having painted the scenery. The assumption being made here is that he was an assistant to a more prominent and occasionally named scene painter, when he was not acting.

Published credit for scene painting is very rare at this date, unless the artist had a reputation, but by 1797 a 'Mr. Williams' had attracted enough attention to be credited with the scenery for a performance of 'The Capture of the Cape of Good Hope', in the Circus in Glasgow:

Messrs Jones's Royal Circus, Jamaica Street. tomorrow, Friday Evening Jan 20th 1797....To which will be added, the much admired spectacle of The Capture of the Cape of Good Hope. As performed upwards of 60 nights at the Royal Circus, London. The scenery of the Cape painted by Mr. Williams.⁸⁴

On the same billing, 'Mr. Williams' is listed in minor roles. Even if the scene painter and actor here are not the same person, the scenery painted and the fact that Hugh Williams was in Glasgow during these years, would suggest that he was the painter. The heroic military subject would have been appropriate for an artist who was to frequent military circles for most of his life.

All of this evidence is circumstantial but as has been noted David Roberts performed in the theatre as did William Leighton Leitch [1802-1884] and both eventually became watercolour painters of great distinction. It is significant that on no occasion does the evidence for 'Mr Williams' as actor or scene painter clash with that for the presence of Hugh Williams as artist. On the contrary, the two sets of evidence complement each other to the extent that the possibility that they represent the same man should at least be considered.

There is also a possible relationship between the financial difficulties of Louis Ruffini and the appearance of 'Mr. Williams' in the theatre. The most obvious is in 1790-91 when Ruffini was sequestered as a bankrupt and 'Mr. Williams' first appeared on the stage. According to his own testimony, Ruffini never recovered from these difficulties and he was in

prison again for debt in 1804. Legal proceedings against him began in July of that year and in August, 'Mr. Williams' appeared in the theatrical listings in Edinburgh. Between these dates, in 1801, Ruffini had applied to the Board of Manufactures in Edinburgh for assistance. His request was turned down on the grounds that a subscription had been set up for him among the Glasgow merchants, who had benefited handsomely from his innovative techniques.⁸⁵ Once again, 'Mr. Williams' appeared on the Edinburgh stage.

On the basis of this evidence it is proposed to consider that Hugh Williams may have come under the influence of the scene painter known as 'Cheap Cooper', already mentioned in relation to Williams' teacher Alexander Nasmyth.

Cooper is credited with the scenery for *Oscar and Malvina* or *The Hall of Fingal*,⁸⁶ for a Perspective view of Greenwich Hospital,⁸⁷ and for the elaborate metamorphic scenery for the Pantomime *Vulcan's Gift*. This last included scenes such as a wood which changed into the cave of Vulcan, and the Tomb of Harlequin, which turned into a magnificent silver garden.⁸⁸ He also made a large transparent painting of the eruption of Vesuvius, used in *Don Juan*. All these plays were performed at the New Circus in April and May 1793 - during the period when 'Mr. Williams' acted there. The view of Greenwich Hospital by Cooper is particularly significant because an 'H. Williams' is recorded as having exhibited a work, Greenwich Hospital at the Royal Academy in 1792. Hugh Williams would have been nineteen in 1792 and if this is a work by him then it is really quite a remarkable achievement.⁸⁹ The work was hung in the room with Sculpture and Drawings, which suggests that it was a watercolour.

In a review of the performance of *The Cape of Good Hope*, the scenery by 'Mr. Williams' was noticed as being '**correct**',⁹⁰ which suggests that, since he had not seen the Cape of Good Hope in reality, it had been copied from another source. The British Museum has a pencil drawing which is inscribed '**Table Land - Cape of Good Hope - from Hodges. R. Cooper**' (Figure 1:10). This may be 'Cheap' Cooper, whose Christian name remains stubbornly unidentifiable. Cooper owned a drawing or a print of Table Mountain, Cape of Good Hope, said to be by William Hodges RA [1744-1797], which may be related to the drawing in the British Museum, although the latter is a fairly insubstantial work.⁹¹

The *Cape of Good Hope* transferred to Edinburgh and opened on the 11th February 1797 at the Royal Circus, closing again on the 21st February. A repeat performance was arranged on the 27th February under the patronage of the Duchess of Buccleuch, and the season closed finally on Friday 9th March 1797.⁹² The Buccleuch family had encouraged Louis Ruffini to set up a factory in Dalkeith in 1790 and the extended family can be identified as patrons and pupils of Hugh Williams, the subject of the next Section.

1:4. *Teaching and Pupils, 1793-1820.*

This Section is based entirely on a wide range of new material. No previous attempt has been made to identify pupils of Hugh Williams. The evidence to be discussed includes two watercolours which were inscribed by the artist to the effect that they are after the work of a pupil. This is followed by a group of small-scale works, again apparently after an amateur, or as the result of travel with a pupil. Manuscript material is also employed to draw attention to a group of pupils which included (Sir) Thomas Dick Lauder, George Basevi, William Douglas of Orchardton, the Rev. William MacGreggor Stirling and John and Jessie Harden. Known works by these pupils will also be discussed.

As hinted at by Robert Brydall in 1889,⁹³ Hugh Williams probably began his professional activities in Glasgow by establishing in partnership with Alexander Galloway, a Drawing Academy, which they first advertised in 1793⁹⁴ (**Figure 1:11**). Galloway was a miniature painter and as well as classes in drawing, watercolour, oil and chalk, he and 'Mr. Williams' offered '**Patterns for Firescreens and all kinds of needlework**',⁹⁵ which helps confirm that Hugh Williams was indeed his partner. Williams himself offered '**Views of a particular place**'. It has not been possible to identify any pupils of the Academy and it was probably not very successful, as they failed to advertise after June 1794 and Galloway advertised his own services the following year.⁹⁶

Williams pursued his career as a drawing master and landscape painter with enthusiasm. He probably exhibited his work in David Niven's Print shop in 1794⁹⁷ and his watercolours were being used for copying by C. Buchanan in his drawing classes, in Glasgow, in 1795.⁹⁸

Very few of Williams' pupils from any stage of his career are known. There are no surviving receipts for teaching, but he can be associated with a number of influential families, usually within émigré, aristocratic or military circles. When there is evidence for him staying with a family during the summer, it is impossible to know if he was being paid in cash or in

kind. Certainly, Williams held no salaried post and depended totally on the sale of his work or on teaching for his income. In this respect he was unique among Scottish watercolour painters of his time.

1:4.1. *Lady Jane Margaret Douglas.*

One of his earliest pupils, from 1795 if not before, was Lady Jane Margaret Douglas, daughter of Archibald, 1st. Lord Douglas of Douglas.⁹⁹ As a result of a long legal struggle - the 'Douglas Cause' - her father had been able to restore his title to estates which included Bothwell Castle on the River Clyde, and there are many views by Williams of both old and new Bothwell Castles, in public and private collections [See Catalogue Nos. W. 8, 11, 18, 35, 65 and 81]. They often make elaborate play on the Douglas heraldry, with fragments of armorial carving scattered in the foreground, and may be seen as part of the celebration, if not the propaganda, associated with Lord Douglas' claim.

There is an impressive group of watercolours by Williams of Bothwell Castle now hanging at Drumlanrig Castle, the Buccleuch stronghold in the Scottish Borders. Some of these once hung at Dalkeith Palace.¹⁰⁰ Two small watercolours in this group, as well as being signed and dated by Williams, are additionally inscribed '**From a drawing by the Right. Hon^{ble}. Lady Douglas**'. One of these, A Boating Lake with framing trees, is dated 1795 and the other, A distant view of Dalkeith Palace, is dated 1796 (**Figure 1:12**). Lady Jane Douglas married Henry James Montague of Boughton, third son of the 3rd Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry [1746-1811], at Dalkeith Palace, in 1804.

Williams may have been acquainted with Lady Douglas earlier than 1795, since Dalkeith Palace, principal residence of the Buccleuch family in the eighteenth century, is within walking distance of Dalkeith town, where Louis Ruffini was encouraged by the Duke's Factor to set up business in 1790 and where, as has been seen, Williams lodged in that year. The Palace was perhaps the grandest house in Scotland in the eighteenth century, and in the absence of a Royal presence in Scotland until 1822 it was the closest the country had to a Royal Palace. It contained one of the most important collections of Old Master paintings within reach of Edinburgh, including large landscapes by Jacob van Ruisdael [1629/30-1682], Claude Vernet

[1714-1789], Claude Lorrain [1600-1682], Antonio Canaletto and Thomas Wyck [1616-1677].¹⁰¹ There is other evidence that Williams is likely to have been familiar with the collection over an extended period of patronage by the Buccleuch family. As has been seen, a special performance of 'The Cape of Good Hope', with scenery by Williams, was arranged under the patronage of the Duchess of Bucceluch in Edinburgh in 1797¹⁰² and his large aquatint, View of Dunkeld, privately published by the artist in 1813, is dedicated to Elizabeth, Dowager Duchess of Buccleuch [1743-1827]¹⁰³ (Cat. No. P. 37).

1.4.2. *The Forbes Drummond Album.*

Williams employed the same method indicated by the two watercolours after Lady Douglas, in another group of watercolours previously in the Forbes-Drummond Album, which was broken up and sold in 1990.¹⁰⁴ The album had been made up by a member of the Forbes-Drummond family of Hawthornden Castle - possibly by Captain (later Sir) John Forbes Drummond, RN [1746-1829], his wife Mary or his only daughter, Margaret Anne.¹⁰⁵ The watercolours by Williams were painted carefully within a border, on white paper. This border was inked over and a further outer borderline added, leaving a narrow white gap. This outer line became a guide for the work to be trimmed and laid down on the grey pages of the album. A few watercolours were trimmed close to the edge and mounted in the album directly. Many were signed by Williams, but not in a repeated or standardised way, and dated variously between 1796 and 1798. Two of the subjects were Irish (one dated 1796), three were painted on Loch Tay (one dated 1796), five in Wales (three dated 1796), ten in the Lake District (three dated 1796, two, 1798), three in Derbyshire (one dated 1797), and finally ten in the Clyde valley (two dated 1797 and two, 1798). The large album was accompanied in the sale by an amateur sketchbook, the work of a member of the family, which formed an undated record of a tour of the Lake District and Wales. Of the twenty-four amateur watercolours, fifteen can be related exactly to watercolours by Williams, mounted in the large album.

As Hugh Williams is not known to have worked in Ireland and given that his watercolours are almost copies of those by the amateur, then it seems most likely that he worked up his watercolours from them in the same manner as the lady Douglas paintings.

Comparison should be made with the two versions of Llangollen (Figures 1: 13, the amateur and 1: 14, Williams). This seems to be confirmed by the way in which many of the watercolours are painted neatly within the pencil borders.

The leather cover of the large album was emblazoned with gilt initials 'F D', surmounted by a Baron's coronet, which would indicate that Sir John Drummond himself was the amateur artist. No manuscript or published material which might explore this relationship further has come to light, but there are a number of finished watercolours by Williams of Hawthornden Castle (See Cat. No. W. 9).

1:4.3. *Sir Thomas Dick Lauder [1784-1848].*

Another possible early pupil is [Sir] Thomas Dick Lauder, to whom Williams remained closely attached throughout his life.¹⁰⁶ Lauder wrote an 'Account of a Pedestrian Tour through part of the Highlands and Hebrides of Scotland, performed in the Autumn of 1801 by Messrs. Leslie and Lauder', which is preserved as a bound manuscript in the family collection. The account was written up in 1803 and is illustrated with watercolours which clearly show the influence of Hugh Williams. They are marked by a great delicacy of aerial perspective and those which have framing trees are particularly close in style to Williams. Indeed, it may be that in some cases the foreground repoussoirs are, in fact by Williams (Figure 1:15).

In the year before he died, Williams wrote to Lauder explaining that he had just sent two small paintings to him at Relugas, of subjects he had been asked to select from a 'Journal in Italy'.¹⁰⁷ This unpublished Journal by Lauder, which also remains in the family collection, records a trip through Italy and is illustrated by a series of very stiff black and white illustrations executed to resemble engravings. Williams made two small views; Scene embracing the distance of Mala de Gaeta and Trajeta on the Route from Rome to Naples, neither of which is known to have survived. Lauder was a leading light in the picturesque movement in Scotland and it is significant that he should apparently have spent his formative years in the company of Williams.

1:4.4. *James Stevenson [1780-1844].*

Another possible pupil is James Stevenson whose work is regularly confused with that of Williams (Cat. Nos. DA. 5, 7-9, 12-13). An important artist, he was a founding member of the Royal Scottish Academy in 1829 and exhibited regularly from 1808 with the Associated Artists, Edinburgh and the RSA, until the year of his death. Very few of his works are known and it has only been possible to build up a picture of his style by reference to the watercolours he produced for the 1808 publication of Allan Ramsay's Gentle Shepherd. These works, such as Habbies How, from the North [PC] are very similar to watercolours by Hugh Williams, with broad washes of colour and very subtle aerial perspective. The trees in the middle distance are also very like those of Williams in the use of squiggled 3's to indicate foliage. Distant trees however tend to be more solid in execution with many small brush strokes laid over each other, and in other watercolours in the set distant hills are outlined in ink. Stevenson's figures are well drawn.

Stevenson also produced works such as View at St. Bernard's Well [c. 1812](Cat. No. DA. 12.), which, although compositionally more compressed than a work by Williams, are, nevertheless, very delicate in the handling of aerial perspective. The tree at the left of this composition still retains its heavy outline, but the distant prospect of the Forth is softly handled. Stevenson, almost certainly a Williams pupil, is an artist worthy of greater research.

1:4.5. *The Newliston Screen.*

There are probably very many families within reach of Edinburgh with whom Hugh Williams had some formal or informal teaching relationship. This type of involvement is typified by a draught screen now at Newliston House, near Edinburgh. The screen has all the appearance of having been made up in the Victorian period, covered as it is with small prints, drawings and watercolours, glued between and under swags of ivy leaves and further prints. The screen has been heavily varnished, probably more than once, and this has gone deep yellow. As a consequence it is difficult to read some of the information it contains. There are at

least three, possibly more, watercolours by Hugh Williams glued to the screen. They are inscribed with his name, but are not apparently signed by the artist, although it is difficult to be certain. Only one subject is easily identifiable, and that is Hermitage Castle, drawn by Williams before 1802, for publication in Sir Walter Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border (See **Cat. No. P. 7**). This, considering its present predicament, is probably another version, and not the watercolour used for the engraving.

One watercolour shows the Chapel of the Blackfriars at St. Andrews, probably copied from the print with that title after Hugh Williams, published in the Scots Magazine in 1808 (See **Cat. No. P. 54**). It is the work of an amateur and appears to be dated 1813. The screen contains other works of greater quality, three of which are inscribed 'Gibson', presumably Patrick Gibson [1782-1829], although Sir Alexander Charles Maitland [the owner of the screen] married the daughter of Alexander Gibson-Wright of Clifton Hall. There is one watercolour by Ann Nasmyth and a number are signed by Paul Sandby Munn [1773-1845].

The screen contains other watercolours and drawings, some of Clifton Hall, a house close to Newliston. One entire side is covered with drawings, most of them initialled 'A.C.M' and dated between 1810 and 1820, which would suggest that they are the work of Sir Alexander Charles Maitland [1755-1848] and that the screen belonged to the Maitlands of Clifton Hall. Sir Alexander was the son of the Hon. General Maitland, 5th son of Charles, 6th Earl of Lauderdale. He was also related to Sir Thomas Maitland, Governor of the Ionian Empire, who would support Williams on his Grand Tour. Helen Maitland [1806-1893], daughter of Sir Alexander, married James Maitland Hog of Newliston in 1827, which is probably how the screen came to be in Newliston House. This screen records in a remarkable way the sketching activities of Sir Alexander Maitland, surrounded by the work of members of his family and a group of artists who may all have been employed as teachers.

1:4.6. *John and Jessy Harden.*

There are a number of references to Hugh Williams in the correspondence of Jessy Harden wife of John Harden [1772-1847] - both enthusiastic and skilled amateur artists. The

correspondence records that Williams knew John Harden from at least 1804 and that he visited the Hardens in the Lake District, where they had a house, in 1805:

Williams is a very pleasant man and gives us a very good account of a charming Tour he has made through Wales after spending some time in London viewing all the paintings to be found.¹⁰⁸

On the following Sunday Williams was in lodgings at Ambleside and he and John Harden went out sketching 'as long as they could see, not minding dinner'. Later, in Edinburgh in 1810, John himself observed that Williams' eyes teased him and he had occasionally to wear glasses.¹⁰⁹

From these letters to her sister in India it is known that Jessie Harden was a pupil of Alexander Nasmyth, and John Harden had begun drawing seriously well before meeting Hugh Williams. However, there is undoubtedly some cross fertilisation in their work and this is particularly so in relation to the figures which appear in John Harden's undated genre studies such as *Dairy Maid and Boy milking a Cow*, (Figure 1:16) illustrated in Foskett.¹¹⁰ These should be compared to *Landscape* [1816], one of the genre studies made by Williams just before his Grand Tour (Figure 1:5).

1:4.7. *William Douglas of Orchardton* [?1784-1821].

Jessie Harden's letters also mention that Williams was accompanied on his 1805 tour in the South by William Douglas of Orchardton. Douglas will be considered in detail in the section on the artist's Grand Tour, but he must be included here as another possible pupil. From evidence to be considered later he was making sketches for himself during their trip and at least two works have been offered at sale, signed by both Williams and Douglas.¹¹¹ Neither of these works have been seen by the present author.

1:4.8. *George Basevi* [1794-1845].

While in Italy Williams picked up another, apparently new pupil in the young architect, George Basevi. He too will be considered in the Chapter dealing with the artist's

Grand Tour but it is worth detailing here his sense of obligation to Williams. He wrote to his father and sisters regularly and on the 5th January 1816 he wrote:

I must own I wish I had a companion on my studies. We should help mutually to keep one another in good spirits, but this I am afraid is almost wholly out of the question, as there are but so few students here. Williams goes on Tuesday [7th January] and then I shall be deprived of my companion, even in my daily labours, nay, more than companion, my instructor, for I am in this respect most amazingly [sic] indebted to him.

Later [10th January] he wrote:

I am sure I am improved amazingly. I reckon myself extremely fortunate in having met with Ervine and Williams. They are men of such exquisite taste that I am sure I am indebted to them more than you can imagine, for the insight they have given me into composition, light and shade etc.

Again, on the 7th March:

Several parties have lately set off for Greece. Williams by this time is there. I became so great a favourite of his that he has written me two letters and promises me more if an opportunity occurs whilst in Greece.

Lastly, on the 26th February 1819:

I often reflect on what a youngster I was on my first set out. I knew nothing, hardly bad from good, from nature I could not draw. All this has taken time to overcome and had I not had the good fortune to make staunch friends of Ervine and Williams, I might have returned nearly as great an ass as I set out.

Unfortunately, the words are almost all that survive to suggest what effect Williams' teaching might have had. There are a few drawings by Basevi in the Soane Museum which show him to have been a very accurate draughtsman - as might be expected from a pupil of Sir John Soane.¹¹² However, no complete watercolours are known. Two sketches of Tivoli and a view of Rome [44/2/15, 44/2/3 and 44/2/5] in the Soane Museum, suggest in their rapidly handled trees and vigorous cross hatching, what may be the Williams influence. These works are landscapes, as opposed to very accurate and disciplined views of structures, and they express enjoyment of nature. Once again, further work is required on this gravely under-researched architect.

In January 1801 The Scotsman noted that Williams was preparing a group of etchings for publication.¹¹³ These, published under the title Etchings of Local Subjects - intended to assist in the study of Nature, were clearly intended to support his teaching (Cat. Nos. P. 8 - P.

20). They were not his only exercise in this area. A further group of six plates may have been published as a separate entity under the title Six Etchings of Local Subjects. From Nature by H. W. Williams. (See *Cat. Nos.* P. 24 - 29).

There is evidence that Williams taught Louis Simond a French traveller, to etch in the soft ground or, as he called it, the chalk manner.¹¹⁴ There is also evidence in the catalogue of his posthumous [1831] studio sale, and in the letters to his friend, the Rev William MacGregor Stirling.

1:4.9. *Countess Flauhault.*

In his sale catalogue there are etchings listed by Countess Flauhault.¹¹⁵ This was, in fact, Margaret Elphinstone, eldest daughter of Lord Keith, who in 1817 married Count de Flauhault, previously aide-de-camp to Napoleon.¹¹⁶ According to George Ticknor, she was a spirited, talented and cultured lady, although her health was not good. When Ticknor met her in 1819 she and her husband entertained almost every evening at home, in Edinburgh.¹¹⁷ The couple had met at Holland House in London, where the Count and other refugees were given shelter by the Duchess of Devonshire and they were obviously leading figures of the émigré society in Scotland to which Williams belonged.¹¹⁸ It has not been possible to trace any examples of Countess Flauhault's work but it would be surprising to find examples in the artist's sale if he had not had some contact with her.

1:4.10. *Rev. William MacGregor Stirling.*

Another of Hugh Williams' pupils was the Rev. William MacGregor Stirling, Minister of the Port of Monteith, a small parish in South West Perthshire. A short series of letters exist from Williams' correspondence with him.¹¹⁹ They give an insight into Williams' sources of inspiration, from nature itself to the work of Flemish etchers, and they illustrate a concern for detail to be expected in an artist trained in pattern making and possibly military draughtsmanship. These interests are mentioned in a letter dated Sunday, 11th March 1816:

I will not forget your plates + Etching materials. Mean time, be you busy making out fine small simple subjects with little distance so that you may be prepared by

the time the implements arrive. I am not surprised you like the hard Etching best You cannot fail to do some good things if you take great pains - I have it on my conscience the blunt way I spoke about accuracy the last time we were together but it was well intended detail must be referable to nature, otherwise, in my opinion, it is not worthy of notice - look my [..?..] to the finishing of nature. The best of the Flemish masters owe the whole of their fame + everlasting names to careful study - no scattering of lights, neither too much nor too little of anything - Nature and a strong mind - the world's before you Sterling!¹²⁰

Williams encouraged Stirling as an artist and may have been his drawing master. In 1815 he passed on an untraced drawing of Lanrick Castle made by Stirling, to Archibald Constable, for publication in the Scots Magazine¹²¹ and this was eventually published in 1817.¹²²

The correspondence with Williams mentions delays Stirling was experiencing with W & D Lizars, presumably over the plates he was having etched for his Notes Historical and Descriptive of the Priory of Inchmaholme Edinburgh [1815]. The plates were being etched after his own drawings and the prints are very much in the manner of Williams' published etchings. This is most noticeable in View of Gateway to Mausoleum [opp. p.95](Figure 1:17), where the trees are treated in a way reminiscent of those in Williams' soft ground etching In Hamilton Wood (Cat. No. P. 13). Williams and Stirling must have been very dissatisfied with Lizars' rather bald treatment of the subject, which may have been the spur for Stirling to begin etching for himself. Certainly Williams was to be very critical of the plates engraved by W. H. Lizars for his own Select Views in Greece in 1828 (Cat. Nos. P. 133 and 138).

1:4.11. *Helen Graham.*

The letters to the Rev. William MacGregor Stirling, also give clues to other Williams pupils, including Helen Graham, wife of General Graham, Governor of Stirling Castle. They also suggest that Williams may have been an important influence on the early work of the Rev. John Thomson of Duddingston, who settled in Edinburgh in 1805. Williams wrote to Stirling from Edinburgh on the 3rd October 1815:

After leaving you, which was not with the most agreeable feelings in the world, I spent about a week at Stirling Castle with my truly worthy friends Genl + Mrs. Graham...I need not tell you that I was not idle, the Ladies were smitten with a desire to Sketch too and I never went out without a pleasant little party as busy as myself...after leaving Stirling, I came here and only remained a day, fearing the

weather might break + prevent me getting my Views near Dunse [Duns, East Lothian], So I stepped out to Duddingston + mentioned my intended trip to the worthies there [Rev. John Thomson and his wife]+ what do you think? both of them said they would accompany me + that we should travel in the Gig so accordingly we went together and enjoyed 8 or 9 days in high style, indeed, I may say, I never was happier in my life. Mrs. Thomson made many excellent sketches, yea and so did the good fellow himself. What I did I will not say. I have got the Views I went for at Dunse + think it possible to make a tolerable picture from it + since my arrival I have been out again for two or three days...¹²³

The Sterling correspondence suggests that Williams may also have played some part in Helen Graham's publication of the so-called 'Stirling Roundels'. Her volume Lacunar Strevelinense or a Collection of Heads [Edinburgh and London, 1817] consisted of 38 etched Plates, number 8 of which is signed by Edward Blore [1787-1879] the Architect and 10 and 13, by 'W and DL' - probably W. and D. Lizars, the engravers. All the remaining plates are presumed to be the work of Mrs. Graham. It seems unlikely that, as Hugh Williams was instructing the Rev. William MacGregor Stirling in the skills of etching between 1815 and 1820, and he and Sterling were frequent guests of the Grahams at Stirling Castle during these years, Williams did not play some part in the publication.

The impression from most of the references given here is that Williams was seldom at home, particularly during the summer months when he clearly joined groups or individuals on sketching tours. From his association with the Hardens and with the Rev. John Thomson of Duddingston, Williams may have been encouraged to take up oil painting. According to Jessie Harden, Williams began working in oil some five months before the 1810 Exhibition of the Associated Artists in Edinburgh, which opened on the 9th April. She felt that his oils were '**by no means equal to his watercolours**'.¹²⁴ His reasons for working in oil may also have had much to do with changes which were taking place in the London exhibitions, as watercolour artists struggled to compete with oils. This change in attitude will be considered in the next section.

It is to be regretted that there is no evidence for the day-to-day teaching Hugh Williams must have undertaken. Letters and journals, such as those of Jessie Harden, often record the activities of Alexander Nasmyth in this regard, but there is no similar material for Hugh Williams and Jessie does not mention having had lessons from Williams although his name appears more often in her journals than that of any other artist. In the absence of such

material it might be assumed that he had no need of such a regular income, but other evidence, such as his comments before going abroad in 1816, suggest that he had no private wealth.

1:5 *Exhibitions and Exhibiting Societies, 1807-1829.*

This section will look at the ways in which Williams developed his reputation by exhibition and how in the end, he relied on publication rather than exhibition to spread his name further. These issues have not previously been addressed in publication. The discussion will be based on exhibition catalogues and reviews along with manuscript material relating to the Associated Artists, both in London and Edinburgh.

Public exhibition was a very important part of Hugh Williams' professional attitude to his work, but it was only one of his means of attracting public attention. There is evidence that he was disappointed at the public response to his work, having exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1800 and 1815, with the Associated Artists there in 1808 and 1809 and in Edinburgh between 1810 and 1816. Consequently, he had to find another way to raise his profile and he began to do so by publishing topographical views in the *Scots Magazine* from 1804 and a set of six large aquatints of Highland scenery in 1813. When it came to his Greek subjects after 1818, he published these as *Select Views in Greece* [1823-1829], in conjunction with the publication of correspondence and scholarly catalogues; thus promoting his art as a serious antiquarian endeavour. His large Greek watercolours may have been known in London, but there is no evidence that they were exhibited there. Williams gained a national reputation, and later an international one, through the publication of the *Select Views in Greece*.

In exhibiting at the Royal Academy in 1800, Hugh Williams became the tenth Scottish artist to exhibit there, and after Richard Cooper jun., Jacob More and Alexander Runciman, only the fourth landscape painter from Scotland to do so.¹²⁵ He was also the first Scottish artist to exhibit landscape watercolours there. This places him before a whole stream of Scottish landscape artists, including Alexander Nasmyth, who was not to exhibit in London for a further thirteen years. This was a remarkable achievement, particularly for a watercolour painter, but Williams did not follow up his success with further exhibitions after 1815. This may be related to the death of John Graham in 1817 but is more likely to be the result of his

travels on the Continent from 1816 and his subsequent involvement in producing large watercolour views of Greece for exhibition, largely in Scotland.

Scotland had a long but intermittent history of exhibiting art in public, beginning with the Foulis Academy in Glasgow, where works from their collection were exhibited in the courtyard of the University from 1761. There are no recorded exhibitions between this date and the first exhibition of the Associated Artists in Edinburgh in 1808, although Miles [1977]¹²⁶ refers to an attempt to establish an academy of fine arts in the mid 1780's and Gordon [1976] noted an unsuccessful attempt by Alexander Nasmyth and Patrick Campbell to establish a society of artists in Edinburgh in 1797.¹²⁷ Hugh Williams was also involved in planning an exhibition, about which little is known, during this period. On the 16th May 1801, William Buchanan the art dealer wrote to John Clerk, informing him that Williams wanted to include J. C. Ibbetson's The Cotter's Saturday Night [untraced] in an exhibition in Edinburgh.¹²⁸

Edinburgh had a strong tradition of artists showing their work in their homes or in purpose built galleries. John Scougal [1645-1730], for example, had a gallery in his house in Advocates Close,¹²⁹ and William Nicholson had the architect Thomas Hamilton [1784-1858] build him an exhibition room behind his house in George Street in 1826. This still stands today as the 'brown furniture' auction room of Messrs Lyon and Turnbull [the room at the right at the end of the entrance corridor]. Henry Raeburn used his house in York Place to exhibit his own work, and the Associated Artists of Edinburgh hired his two lower rooms from 1809.¹³⁰ There is no evidence that Hugh Williams had an exhibition room although the two storey nature of his flat at 65 Castle Street allowed visitors to see his work without disturbing his domestic arrangements.

This vacuum in exhibition societies or venues was filled by informal exhibitions in print shops, and evidence has been considered that Williams took advantage of this type of exposure in Glasgow. As previously noted, Williams published his etched outline A View of the High Church of Glasgow, in Glasgow in October 1794. Copies of the print were available from the shop of David Niven, printer and bookseller in Glasgow. It thus seems highly likely that the watercolour views of the River Clyde and Loch Lomond, offered for sale in his shop in

April that year, were also by Hugh Williams, as there are many versions of these subjects in his known work.¹³¹

In one case, a version of his Craig Torphin and Falls of the Tummel, dated 1812 [PC, BM version, dated 1802, Cat. No. W. 34], had a label on the reverse of the frame which suggested that it had been No. 14 in an exhibition at the shop of Mr. Findlay, Glasgow, but no date is given. Mr. Findlay's shop is not a known exhibition venue. Hugh William did not however, exhibit in the Glasgow Exhibition of Paintings in June 1811, the earliest official exhibition held in Glasgow since those at the Foulis Academy.¹³² By then he had become involved with the Associated Artists in London and Edinburgh.

1:5.1 *The Associated Artists, London.*

Hugh Williams was a member of the Associated Artists both in London and Edinburgh, the London group having been established earlier. Their inaugural meeting, under the title 'New Society of Painters in Miniatures and Watercolours' [to differentiate them from 'The Society of Painters in Watercolours'] was held at the Thatched House Tavern on the 24th June 1807.¹³³ Williams attended the second meeting on 1st July and he was part of a strong Scottish presence.¹³⁴ The New Society changed its name to 'Associated Artists in Watercolour' in January 1808, before the first exhibition in April that year.

The older London based 'Society of Painters in Watercolour' had been exhibiting since 1805 and with quite astonishing success, having 12,000 visitors in the six weeks of their opening show. They limited membership to twenty-four, and Hardie [1967] sees this as the spur to the development of the New Society.¹³⁵ However, it is only necessary to look closely at some of the members to see that they were a slightly exotic group, made up of miniature and landscape painters with strong European and military connections.

As well as the Scots already noted, the best-known founder members were John Laporte [1761-1839], a topographer who had taught Dr. Monro and was drawing master at Addiscombe Military Academy; Samuel Owen [1768-1857], a marine painter who developed a natural approach; J. Huet Villiers [1772-1813] who arrived from the Continent in 1801 and was

miniature painter to the Duke and Duchess of York; J. B. Papworth [1775-1847], architect and topographical draughtsman, William Walker jun.[1780-1868], who had studied with the architect Robert Smirke, had been to Greece in 1803 and was to go again in 1815; William Westall, ARA. [1781-1850]¹³⁶, who in 1801 at the age of 18, had accompanied Matthew Flinders on his exploration of Australia, and had returned via China and India; Walter Henry Watts [1776-1842], born in the East Indies, the son of a Naval Captain, who was educated in England and became Miniature Painter to Princess Charlotte; and lastly Alfred Chalon [1780-1860], the son of a Huguenot refugee from Geneva, who painted fine watercolour portraits. The New Society was also distinctive in one respect: it had two women members, Emma Smith [fl.1783-1825], a painter of miniatures and landscapes, and Harriet Green [née Lister], an intrepid traveller within the United Kingdom and a watercolour painter who specialised in mountain scenery with soft light. Almost all these members, including Hugh Williams, had exhibited at the Royal Academy and they were all professional artists. Some amateurs were also encouraged to exhibit.

Williams exhibited with the Associated Artists in London in 1808 and 1809, his contributions in the latter year restricted mainly to Cattle Pieces. [See Appendix I for list of works exhibited] If the catalogue represents in any way the sequence of hanging, then it is instructive to look briefly at which pictures hung beside those by Williams. In 1808 his Stirling Castle (118) hung beside a View of Andrusa, in the Morea, Greece, by William Walker jun., his Evening (142), beside View of the Mountains above the vale of St. Anna, Island of Madeira, by William Westall and his Furness Abbey (157), beside A Wood Scene, from Nature, by Peter De Wint. In 1809 Williams's View near Edinburgh (104) and Waterfall (105) hung beside Conway Castle by David Cox, who became President in 1810, and other pictures hung beside works by Samuel Owen [twice], John Laporte and J. Huet Villiers. In almost all cases, these are men who might be regarded as leading members of the group and this supports the idea that Williams had a high reputation among the London artists. It is interesting even at this early date to see Williams associated with artists such as Walker and Westall, who travelled widely. There is some evidence, to be considered later, that William Walker moved to Edinburgh from 1811.

The Associated Artists carried on, in a market made more difficult by the war on the Continent, until 1812. Williams' failure to exhibit in the succeeding years may have been the result of a row over the number of works expected and he may have unwittingly contributed to the problem. In a letter to the Secretary, Andrew Robertson, dated 29th February 1808, Williams says **"I hear there is a young man just started on landscape who is likely to carry all before him. I hope he is secured for our undertaking, if not, he should be laid hold of"**.¹³⁷ This probably refers to Peter De Wint [1784-1849], who although not a member, exhibited beside Williams later that year. De Wint undoubtedly fitted well with the exotic mixture of the Associated Artists¹³⁸ but he was also an ambitious professional who quickly saw the problems of a group of artists committed largely to small scale works competing in a market where the major artists, John Varley [1778-1842], John Glover [1767-1849] and William S. Gilpin [1762-1843], were exhibiting twenty or thirty works each, with the rival institution. He proposed, at a meeting after the exhibition in 1809, that each artist should agree to submit twelve works. This immediately caused difficulties with Andrew Wilson and William Westall, who could not supply the number of drawings required, from pressure of work. Williams' feelings are not recorded, but the distance and shipping costs must have presented particular problems for him and he did not exhibit again.¹³⁹ Another reason may have been the emergence of the Associated Artists in Edinburgh, with whom Williams met in May 1809 and where he exhibited in 1810. His brush with Peter De Wint was however to have a significant impact on his own work and this will be considered in Chapter 2.

Hardie [1967] records that the 'Old Watercolour Society' agreed to accept works in oil as part of an attempt to revive their fortunes in 1812. This caused resignations and at a meeting that year, the Society was dissolved. A reforming group continued to exhibit oils and watercolours between 1813 and 1820. The surviving material on the Associated Artists in London [in the Victoria and Albert Museum] includes a small but significant piece of evidence which suggests that Hugh Williams may have been a member of this reforming group. This is a printed card, listing the names of the exhibitors for the 1815 exhibition of the 'Society of Painters in Oil and Watercolours'. What is of interest is that the card includes the name of Hugh Williams among the listed Members and Exhibitors.

Roget in his History of the Old Watercolour Society states that Williams had been proposed for membership of the Society in 1807 but was not successful.¹⁴⁰ Confirming this, his name does not ever appear in the catalogues of the 'Old Watercolour Society', but it can be suggested that he was a member of the splinter group. It is significant that the disagreement should have arisen over the admission of oil paintings, as this was the direction in which Williams sought to move from about 1810.

1:5.2. *The Associated Artists, Edinburgh.*

In January 1804 a watercolour by Hugh Williams, View of Dundee from the West [untraced], was published as a Frontispiece to the Scots Magazine (Cat. No. P. 41), with a note in the text to the effect that **'We are happy to hear that there is soon to be an exhibition of paintings etc. by the associated Artists of this City, [Edinburgh] in which Mr. Williams's beautiful original of this view will appear'**. This is the earliest intimation of a society which did not exist officially until April 1808 and where Williams did not exhibit until 1810.

The Associated Artists in Edinburgh met for the first time at Poole's Coffee House on the 1st April 1808. Hugh Williams attended his first meeting on 27th May 1809 and was in regular attendance, including a period as a Committee member, until 30th May 1812, when his resignation letter was not accepted. The group had many difficulties but they firmly set a precedent for the exhibition of work by living artists in Scotland, which was to lead to the formation of the Royal Scottish Academy in 1826.

Williams had to be cajoled into exhibiting by a reviewer in the Scots Magazine in October 1809:

We have to regret that the walls of the Exhibition Room were not adorned by any productions from the elegant pencil of Mr. Williams.¹⁴¹

When he did so in 1810, the response was mild, with works in oil, particularly portraits attracting most of the attention. Landscapes in general received a lukewarm response:

We think that the general fault of landscapes is want of a decided character; they represent some little bit of country, and they often represent it well, but, commonly speaking, the general character of it is neither gay nor gloomy, neither humble nor grand, etc. but frequently a mixture of all together.¹⁴²

Williams appears to have responded to this criticism and he produced moody works such as Glencoe [NGS](Cat. No. W. 71) exhibited in 1812 in Edinburgh and in 1815 at the Royal Academy in London.

Almost all the reviews of the exhibitions by the Associated Artists up to 1813 were positive but with a tendency towards carping and sarcasm about the work of some artists. Williams fared well, but occasionally specific 'improvements' to colour or composition were suggested, in a censorious tone which must have rankled with all the professional artists. The most regular reviews appeared in the Scots Magazine. In 1814 the celebrations surrounding the toppling of Napoleon almost eclipsed the exhibition and there were no reviews in the usual periodicals. In 1815 comments began to be made about the difficulties among the members and this was followed by a letter to the Editor of the Scots Magazine by 'U. F.', in which the writer made a number of harsh comments about the work of Henry Raeburn. This must have been the last straw and Hugh Williams probably encouraged his friend and pupil, the Rev, William MacGregor Stirling to write a response, which was published under the pseudonym 'Candidus'. The tone was respectful and defended Raeburn but it went on:

Of the praise bestowed upon other artists, or of the history of their associations, I do not mean to say anything. I am much better pleased to see artists cheered by praise than depressed by censure, amidst the toils of study and the difficult ascent to excellence in their profession: and if those amateurs who profess themselves friendly to young artists, would use their influence to promote the occasional sale of their pictures, they would do them a far more essential service, than by pointing out and exposing their defects, which the artists themselves are likely enough to see and correct, without the painful discipline of public instruction from those who are unqualified for the task.¹⁴³

Some of the passion here can be attributed to Williams who wrote to Stirling in May 1815, vigorously referring to an enclosure Stirling had sent him:

...every word of it shall be printed...it was necessary to say something in favour of the Exhibition and the artists, to put the public to rights - had they encouraged the undertaking it would have gone on progressively till at last a splendid collection of art would have been annually shown in Edinr. but alas no encouragement of any kind ever appeared yet it is expected that[crossed through] a grand Exhibition should[crossed through] is insisted upon from a lot of starving artists who have exhausted all their means already in the attempt. - there can be nothing more absurd, and I may say ungrateful. With regard to myself, I thank God I am in some degree out of the scrape. Yet I confess I should like now and then to give my mind fair play, it is sadly trammelled by my general employment...¹⁴⁴

Stirling suggested that the best thing reviewers could do was to leave the artists alone. This they did and the 1816 exhibition, the last before the demise of the group, attracted no published comment and the Scots Magazine published instead, an article, 'Landscape -Theory of Expression and Character'.¹⁴⁵

In a review of the 1810 exhibition, published in the Edinburgh Evening Courant, the writer mentioned oils by Williams for the first time. It is not clear which picture of the four exhibited was in oil, but the artist's View of the Cathedral of Durham (154) came in for particular attention, which suggests that this may have been the work. The writer went on:

We are glad to see this artist painting in oil. It will make him known as an able painter, when his water colours have vanished into air.¹⁴⁶

It is ironic that of all his work, his oil paintings are the ones which have vanished, only three being known.

In 1811 the reviewer in the Caledonian Mercury [probably the editor and amateur artist, John Harden] also mentioned an oil, The Ghost's Glen - Loch Katrine [No. 10] with the comment:

if he continues to exercise his rich exuberance of thought, we have no doubt but he will vie with Wilson and Claude, providing such specimens are henceforth exhibited such as the oil coloured landscape of Loch Katrine.¹⁴⁷

In this year Williams used the exhibition as a springboard to advertise his six large prints of Highland scenery [Cat. No. P. 35-40]. It is a sign of a developing professionalism that he exhibited one of the subjects [No. 154] and drew attention to his published proposals in the exhibition catalogue.¹⁴⁸

It was not just in the area of exhibitions that the Associated Artists had an impact on the work of Hugh Williams. In November 1811 they applied to the Trustees Academy for permission to use their rooms in Picardy Place for a life academy. The application was returned for modification because the Board of Manufactures could not agree to the intention to draw from female models. In the event, the application was turned down and the artists set up their own life classes in the house of James Howe [1780-1836] at 6 North St. David Street, opening on the 25th November 1811. The Minutes record that the classes would continue on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays at 7pm 'as last year', which suggests that the application

to the Board had been an effort to find better premises.¹⁴⁹ The effect of this opportunity on the work of Williams was marked and it will be discussed further in Chapter 2.

1:5.3. *Individual Exhibitions.*

Hugh Williams was at a high point in his career when he held his solo exhibition in 1822. He had carefully cultivated public interest in his new continental material with the publication in 1820, of his Travels in Italy, Greece and the Ionian Islands. This comprised his correspondence with the Rev. John Thomson of Duddingston and George Thomson, while on his Grand Tour, and was largely in the form of critical reactions to the collections of Old Master pictures he saw in the Low Countries and in Italy with descriptions of his travels in Greece and the Aegean.

Two years later, he arranged an exhibition at the Calton Convening Rooms, of the drawings and fully worked watercolours of his continental tour, hung alongside some of his Scottish scenes. He produced an exhibition catalogue¹⁵⁰ which is a key to the surviving watercolour drawings of Greece and is the most useful starting point in identifying versions of the early works, as some of the watercolours were described in detail. The exhibition was a success and another was held in the same rooms in 1826 although this had more to do with financial difficulties caused by the sequestration of the publisher of his Select Views in Greece. A further scholarly catalogue was produced,¹⁵¹ incorporating a number of changes to the order and content. The 1822 Exhibition was a great critical success:¹⁵²

Our readers are aware that the staple commodity of Mr. Williams is watercolour drawing; in which department of art he certainly ranks with the first masters in Britain...¹⁵³

On this wave of success, Williams launched in 1823, Select Views in Greece, a series of small scale etched engravings after his most popular drawings, made by the best of the rising school of Scottish craftsmen. This publication will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3:4.2. To the exclusion of almost any other work, Williams produced ever larger Exhibition watercolours, to satisfy a growing national demand.

It was probably through a friendship with Thomas Kinnear in Edinburgh that he received a commission from the Leeds based manufacturer and collector, Benjamin Gott. Williams wrote to Gott in June 1822, apologising for having taken so long to send the watercolour. **'The truth is, I was a little intimidated by the size, knowing it would require a considerable time to execute...'** This watercolour was eventually exhibited with the Northern Society for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts, in Leeds in 1823 and led to a further contribution in 1825. This is the only known case of a Greek view being exhibited outside Scotland during the artist's lifetime.

1:5.4. *Royal Institution for Encouragement of Fine Arts in Scotland.*

Hugh Williams also exhibited, in his later years, with the Royal Institution for the Encouragement of Fine Arts in Scotland [RIEFAS hereafter]. It is not clear when he became an Associate of the RIEFAS as the papers which survive are incomplete. He exhibited fifteen works with the Institution for the first time, in 1824; did not do so in 1825, and exhibited one work in 1826 before filling one wall in 1827 with twenty-nine works. [See Appendix I].

The RIEFAS, which had been set up in 1819 to promote the Arts in Scotland, was in fact a very aristocratic organisation which arranged important and influential exhibitions of Old Master paintings from Scottish collections but paid little heed to living artists. Hugh Williams was quite deeply involved in its activities and it was he and John Hay of Hayston [1755-1830], both **'lately at Rome'** who advised on the purchase of suitable plaster casts for the RIEFAS collection in 1821:

That these gentlemen had been so obliging as to consider the business very attentively and after visiting the Academy and seeing the casts there, had transmitted a Report of some length...in which they express the same preference for antique statues, and give a list of twenty statues besides busts and relievos in the different Italian collections, casts of which they recommended to the Board to be commissioned for the use of the Academy; as well as some specimens of the ancient ornamental works such as cornices, candelabras, sarcophagi, Tripods etc. And they also recommended that if any casts from Canova's works were ordered, an equal number should be commissioned from those executed by his rival Thorvaldson.¹⁵⁴

When the casts were eventually shipped, they came via Fletcher MacBean and Co, Leghorn, gentlemen who, it will be seen in the next section, considerably aided Williams while he was in Leghorn.

A small group of artists, including Williams, used the proposed election of new Directors to the Institution in 1825 to stage a partial coup. On the 11th January 1825 Hugh Williams, Alexander Nasmyth, Samuel Joseph [1791-1850], William Nicholson, W. J. Thomson, [Sir] William Allan [1782-1850], J. F. Williams, [Sir] John Watson [1778-1864] and George Watson [1767-1837], wrote to the Directors of RIEFAS asking if they, as Associated Artists, were entitled to vote in the election of new Directors, announced in the Press the previous day.¹⁵⁵ They received a cool reply, designed to keep them on board but allowing them little say in the running of the RIEFAS affairs. This small group split at this point and Williams remained loyal to the RIEFAS while the others went over to the new Scottish Academy camp. Nasmyth, Williams, William Allan and W. J. Thomson wrote to the Scotsman on the 1st January 1827 stating that they had no concern with the establishment of an Academy. Matters between the RIEFAS and the new Scottish Academy became very fraught but it became obvious that the Academy would prosper and the Institution fade. Henry Cockburn, acting as an arbiter for a group of artists in the Institution, wrote to the President of the Academy on the 6th June 1829, using the good will surrounding Williams, then on his deathbed, as a catalyst for improved relations:

I am afraid that my friend H. W. Williams has no interest in this measure, or in anything earthly. If he should survive, however, you will consider his name as added to the list. The union of all artists of Edinburgh on proper principles, and on liberal feelings, was the last subject connected with his profession on which I heard him express himself earnestly.¹⁵⁶

Hugh Williams' restlessness with the bickering of the Edinburgh exhibition scene had led him to look more widely for inspiration and success in 1816. He travelled regularly within the United Kingdom but clearly, even from 1808, he enjoyed an association with artists who had been further afield. In one of the reviews of the fifth exhibition of the Associated Artists in Edinburgh, in 1812, the writer 'Veritas', finished his report by drawing the reader's attention to the work of Andrew Wilson, which had been recently on private show in the artist's Edinburgh house.¹⁵⁷ Wilson had just returned from France and Italy after a long stay and his

watercolours obviously caught the public imagination. Perhaps with poor taste, as Wilson had not exhibited publicly in Edinburgh, the reviewer in the following year once again ended with a reference to Wilson, this time noting that he had taken up and mastered oils.

As a co-member of the Associated Artists in London, Andrew Wilson was well known to Hugh Williams. Wilson is listed in the Edinburgh Post Office Directories for 1812-13, at No. 2 Greenside Place. This is presumably the site of his private exhibition, but it is also interesting for a connection with another of the artists who exhibited with the Associated Artists in London. This was William Walker, who exhibited views of Greece alongside Williams in London in 1808, the result of a journey by the former to Greece in 1803. It has not previously been recorded that Walker came to live in Edinburgh from 1811-12 and is listed in these years, at No. 2 Greenside Place. In 1812-13 he removed to 9 James Street where he is listed as having a drawing academy until 1821 when he moved again to 26 Elder Street. Clearly, Wilson rented the house that Walker vacated in 1812-13, for his private exhibition in 1812.

With the reminder of Greece in William Walker's presence in Edinburgh, Andrew Wilson's obvious success, and Napoleon safely locked away on St. Helena, continental travel began to seem a possibility for Hugh Williams in 1816.

The influence of Hugh Williams' exhibitions, particularly those in London, is difficult to detect in the substantial wake of J. M. W. Turner. However Williams may have had some effect on the work of Turner himself, from the time of his first exhibition at the Royal Academy in 1800. In that year Williams' View of Loch Tay, Scotland, presumed here to be Kenmore on Loch Tay [1799, PAGM](Cat. No. W. 21.) hung in the same room as the suite of three large watercolours by Turner of Fonthill Splendens, the Gothic tower built for William Beckford. It has not previously been noted that these works and Carnaervon Castle, N. Wales [TG], exhibited in the same year, were the earliest of Turner's exhibition watercolours to include framing trees in the Claudian manner. It seems very likely that Williams' large watercolour in his most theatrical Claudian mode, had some effect on Turner, especially if as a member of the Academy, he had seen it some time before hanging.

Within a few months of the exhibition Turner was in Scotland on his first tour. Further evidence of Williams' influence on Turner will be discussed in Chapter 5.1.

Williams' exhibitions with the Associated Artists in London may also have had a specific influence. It seems likely that the watercolour Wychwood Forrest, Oxfordshire [VAM], of 1809 by William Turner of Oxford [1789-1862] may have been influenced by a sight of Williams' A Wood with Horses (Wychwood Forest) [1806, YCBA](Cat. No. W. 49). The Williams watercolour [given its supplementary title by a previous collector who observed the similarity between the two works] is a rare imaginary composition in the artist's output. It may have been A Composition exhibited with the Associated Artists in London in 1808 (No. 193).

Other influences are more general. William Varley exhibited with the Royal Academy between 1804 and 1818 and his Welsh Landscape [1825, VAM] steers away from the largely unadorned landscapes of his more famous brother John, towards a slightly overdone imitation of Williams' theatrical Claudian style. So too might the impressionable teenager Samuel Palmer [1805-1881], exhibiting at the Royal Academy from 1819 have seen work by Hugh Williams. His series of drawings of Tintern Abbey [c.1835, VAM] show the building nestling in the hills in a style very close to a great many views of Scottish castles by Williams, one of which, View of Dunkeld (Cat. No. P. 37) was available as a large Sepia print from 1813. Palmer used pen and Sepia wash to capture landscapes in a rich sparkling way, very reminiscent of these prints and of Williams use of the same medium. The series of large Sepia prints may also have inspired A. V. Copley Fielding [1787-1855] in his series of views of Rievaux Abbey [1839, VAM] but these works in their colouring and handling suggest that Fielding was acquainted with Williams' large Greek views.

Williams' Greek landscapes had an immediate impact on the work of Joshua Cristall [1768-1847] who moved from London to Edinburgh in 1818 but continued to exhibit in the south. He produced works such as The Grove of Arcadia - Plato Teaching [1820, NGS] directly inspired by Williams and carried on painting Arcadian landscapes into the 1840's. The publication of the Select Views in Greece by Williams after 1823 had a considerable impact on the spread of the romantic Claudian view and an associated enthusiasm for Greek

subjects. The minor watercolourist Francis Oliver Finch [1802-1862] painted many imaginary landscapes such as Religious Ceremony in Ancient Greece of c.1835 [YCBA], based loosely on compositions by Williams. As suggested at the beginning of this section, Williams' prints were to have a lasting and general effect while the effect of his watercolours was more specific.

1:6 *The Grand Tour, 1816-1818.*

This Section is based largely on the account of the artist's tour, Travels in Italy, Greece and the Ionian Islands, published in Edinburgh in 1820. This account is incomplete, ending shortly after Williams left Athens, and it is not strictly chronological. Much new material in the form of unrecorded works and manuscripts has been found in the course of this research and it has been used here to augment the published account and extend the chronology. The artist's Greek views are considered his most important work and the purpose of this Section is to provide a framework against which all works made during the Grand Tour, as they appear, can be placed. For this reason care has been taken to include all the known dates for the artist's presence and to continually refer to known drawings, watercolours and prints.

Hugh Williams undertook a Grand Tour, beginning in June 1816 and ending in the autumn of 1818. The route taken was not much different to that taken by others who visited Greece, with the possible exception of a fascination with the site of the Battle of Waterloo where so many Highlanders had perished.

The journey began in London on the 6th July 1816 with a passage to Ostend. From there the route carried on through the Low Countries with a lingering look at the site of Waterloo, only a year after the Battle. In Switzerland some of the journey was undertaken on foot, in the company of assorted members of the Scottish aristocracy. With a base in Leghorn, well endowed with Scottish merchants, side trips were arranged to the Island of Elba and to Florence. By November 1816 Williams was in Rome, where he passed the winter before setting off for Greece in February 1817. He was in Athens by May 1817, remaining for less than a month before going to Naples, sailing via Sicily and Malta. Once again Williams wintered in Rome from December 1817 until March 1818 when he began the journey home. He was back in the Low Countries by September and home in Edinburgh, probably by October 1818.

On his return to Scotland, Williams published his correspondence as Travels in Italy, Greece and the Ionian Islands in 1820. This is the best source for the itinerary of the tour but this research has found new manuscript material and a large group of drawings has been catalogued, which adds greatly to an understanding of the journey. This group is particularly

helpful in relation to the return trip, of which Williams gave the most cursory description in the Travels. Only four drawings made in Greece are known and none are known of Malta. Until Steven Somerville purchased a large album of drawings made by Williams on the Continent, [between the Low Countries and Rome, in both directions] very few were known. The present author catalogued and photographed almost all these drawings before they were exhibited [and largely dispersed] in London in 1988. The album will be referred to as the De la Hanty Album, after a bookplate which was found on the inside cover. The reasons for the survival of so few Greek drawings will be considered in Chapter 2:3.

In order to aid the identification of drawings, the itinerary of this, the most important journey in the artist's life, will be described in detail. Reference will be made throughout to all known drawings, watercolours or prints, of the places visited.

The motivation for the tour of the Continent is revealed in a letter from the artist to his friend, the Rev. William MacGregor Stirling:

Now for a secret. I have taken Macbean's house in Castle Street, what do you think of that my Boy? Is it not very bold especially as the money must come from the skies to furnish it. - but the truth is, I was bothered into it + could not help myself. - I suppose [£]150 or [£]180 will do to begin with. - it is no joke I know, furnishing a house.....Nothing new here, all dull + melancholy, no Balls, no suppers, no merriment, NO Money. Gods, my life, what a World! - adieu - I'm frightened out o' my wits.¹⁵⁹

His further letters reveal a growing anxiety about his finances, leaving him '**absolutely miserable**'¹⁶⁰ with rheumatism and tooth-ache. Then on the 16th May, good news:

Now, prepare to be surprised My Dear Friend. - Be it known I am going to Switzerland with my friend Mr. Douglas. he is to frank me¹⁶¹ in return for which he is to have the sketches and drawings of the scenery we may visit. - We are likewise to go to the Italian Lakes and the Tyrol - all this , God willing, on the first of June or so...¹⁶²

'**Macbean's house**' to which Williams refers is in fact a two storey flat in Queen Street in Edinburgh, looking out over Queen Street Gardens to the Forth Estuary, although the entrance is at 65 Castle Street¹⁶³. With its northern light and the spectacular view, few houses could have been so suited to an artist.¹⁶⁴

'**Mr. Douglas**' was William Douglas of Orchardton and Almorness. M.P., F.R.S.E. [?1784-1821],¹⁶⁵ the son of James Douglas of Orchardton, and the nephew of the wealthy and

unmarried Baronet, Sir William Douglas of Castle Douglas.¹⁶⁶ [d.1809].¹⁶⁷ Educated in Edinburgh and at Trinity College Cambridge¹⁶⁸, he studied Law and went up to the Bar in 1806. His entry into politics followed shortly after and he appears to have stood as an independent candidate for Kirkcudbright in 1807, resigning from the contest on 18th May 1807.¹⁶⁹ He stood again in 1812,¹⁷⁰ was easily defeated but was elected to Plympton Erle on 26th December in that year, a constituency very close to the birthplace of Hugh Williams.¹⁷¹ He remained a Member of Parliament, without apparently ever speaking in the House, until June 1816. This lack of interest may have been a result of his failure to receive the Baronetcy which became extinct on the death of his uncle in 1809. Another uncle, Sir James Shaw of Polmadie [1764-1843], Lord Mayor of London and an M.P. from 1809-1818, made strenuous efforts to have the Baronetcy transferred, without success.¹⁷²

Jessie Harden speculates, in her Journal¹⁷³ [4th January 1810] that the young William Douglas inherited '**above £100,000**' as a result of the deaths, not only of his uncle Sir William, but also of [another uncle?] George Douglas, who had established a successful East India Commission business in New York which bore his name.¹⁷⁴ In fact, there were problems with the inheritance of Sir William's fortune, as James Douglas's testament makes clear¹⁷⁵ but there is no doubt that Hugh Williams had a wealthy and enthusiastic patron.¹⁷⁶ In 1813 Williams had dedicated his large aquatint, Glen of the Trossachs, to Douglas '**in testimony of his highly cultivated taste and encouragement of the Arts**' (Cat. No. P. 35).

While on the tour, William Douglas wrote letters home to his uncles, Sir James Shaw and Samuel Douglas and to his father, James. They do not form a complete record, covering the journey only as far as Corfu and they have escaped notice previously because they had been catalogued as the journal of William Douglas, Miniature Painter¹⁷⁷. Their importance is that they provide another view along side the correspondence published by Hugh Williams in 1820 as Travels in Italy Greece and the Ionian Islands, and while occasionally they form part of that publication, which confirms their new attribution, they also contain much unpublished material.¹⁷⁸

For William Douglas this trip, at least as far as Switzerland, was his second to the continent. He had travelled along the '**opposite**' bank of the Rhine in 1814.¹⁷⁹ From Williams'

published account and from the letters of George Basevi, to be considered later, it is known that Douglas and Williams stopped in Florence and Rome for a period of almost seven months, on their return journey, while Douglas recovered from a mystery illness.¹⁸⁰ Douglas died three years after their return, aged about 37.¹⁸¹

Williams records that they left Brussels on the 11th [July] and arrived in Cologne on the 13th, having visited the field of Waterloo. They travelled through the forest of Soign e and both men were greatly moved by what they saw. Douglas wrote:

We entered the dark + thick forest of Soign e abt. 2 o'clock, every foot of which was interesting as a scene of sufferings. It is wholly of tall Beech, the tops of which nearly meet + throw a gloom on the approach to Waterloo...till at the outlet of the wood we saw the Church of Waterloo - I have a little drawing to show you which represents it accurately.¹⁸²

Williams stated that **'Waterloo is a pretty little village, and the Church, which for a considerable time appeared a pleasing vista from the road, is very picturesque.'**¹⁸³ From these comments and from an existing drawing by Williams, showing the Church at the end of a tree-lined road,¹⁸⁴ it is clear that *both* men were producing drawings (Figure 1:18).

By the 28th July 1816 they were in Baden,¹⁸⁵ having travelled by road along the southern bank of the Rhine as far as Mannheim, where they left off for Heidelberg. Williams' view of the town and river from the west, although dated 1823, is signed twice and may represent a drawing made on the tour and finished in sepia later (Cat. No. W. 111). On entering Switzerland the pace slowed a little and Douglas wrote to his father that they went on foot through a part of the Alps having left Basle on the 1st August 1816.¹⁸⁶ They crossed over into Italy after a night spent in Trient [modern Trento] and were soon in Milan. They carried on to Bologna and Florence where they remained for a week, around the 27th August 1816.¹⁸⁷

It is obvious that the plans for the continental trip were quite fluid. The letter by Williams to his friend, the Rev. William MacGregor Stirling already mentioned, imagined a trip to Switzerland and the Italian Lakes but by the time they had set off, the itinerary had been expanded to include Greece and Constantinople.¹⁸⁸ The intention, according to Douglas, was to winter in Greece at the end of 1816 but this changed after an apparently accidental meeting with William Macbean [1783-1835], in Florence in September 1816.¹⁸⁹ The brother of

Williams's new landlord, Aeneas Macbean WS, he had recently set up business in Leghorn [Livorno] and he suggested that they should come and stay with him. While in Leghorn the suggestion was made that they should not go to Greece for the winter as the rains would make travel difficult. Instead, it was proposed to winter in Rome and Naples.¹⁹⁰ Douglas met another friend in Leghorn, a Mr. Raymond, who had just returned from Elba and, with time now to kill, quite suddenly they decided to visit the island with its tantalising associations with Napoleon.

Williams made two known drawings in Elba. one of which, The Palace of Napoleon, Elba [original untraced], was published (Cat. No. P. 154). The other, entitled A Fishing Port [NGS], in fact a 'View of the Fortress of Porta Ferrajo, Elba', was previously catalogued as the work of James Giles [1801-1870], but this is unlikely as he is not recorded as having visited the island. (Cat. No. W. 88).

When they returned to Leghorn, on the 26th September, Douglas was filled with enthusiasm for visiting Egypt!:

...we have suddenly come to the resolution of embarking for Egypt on the 4th [of October].¹⁹¹

Nothing apparently came of this plan because without any further comment, Williams and Douglas returned to Florence and made an excursion which took them through Valambrosso, La Verna and Camoldi. Williams made a drawing of Valambrosso [c.1816, RM](Cat. No. W. 89) and, inspired by Milton, he wrote at length in his Travels on the attitude of the artist and the poet to the description of scenery.¹⁹² After a few days back in Florence, to recover from the rheumatism brought on by damp beds encountered on their way, they set out in November for Rome.¹⁹³

While in Rome they stayed at the Palazzo Falconieri,¹⁹⁴ possibly as guests of Prince Lucien Buonoparte. Williams, in a description of the Prince, which suggests that they had met, mentions that he took in guests, but Douglas also says that he met Lucien 'at Mr.

Brougham's'¹⁹⁵

Williams spent much of his time in Rome in the company of the young architect George Basevi, whom he taught to draw from nature, and Basevi's letters are an important

new source. There are a number of drawings by Basevi in the Soane Museum, which show him to have been a very careful and accurate draughtsman. As noted in the section on the artist's pupils, some of these drawings were published in 1922.¹⁹⁶ Williams was also accompanied by Hugh Irvine, some of whose work survives at his home, Drum Castle.¹⁹⁷

Basevi wrote to his sister Adelaide on the eve of setting out for Tivoli where he was to stay for seven to ten days [26th November, 1816]. He stated that his companions were Williams, Irvine and Laine[?] and indeed, there is a drawing by Williams inscribed and dated 'Near Tivoli, Dec. 1816' [PC].¹⁹⁸ Basevi also confirms that Williams became involved in the social circle of the Duchess of Devonshire. This was not unusual, as the Duchess was famous for her support of artists in Rome, but Williams seems to have attracted special attention:

Mr. Williams by constantly drawing among the ruins and by colouring them on a large scale has gained a great name here. So much so that the Duchess of Devonshire has requested Broom [Brougham?] to present him to her. He is certainly very clever but not to my mind of such very first rate.¹⁹⁹

The large watercolour The Temple of Vespasian, Rome [NGS](Cat. No. W. 90), with its roughly made extensions to the paper and the tight cropping of the central columns, may be one of the works made on the spot, to which Basevi referred.

The Duchess was an active patron, and paid for excavations in the Roman Forum. She also published sumptuous editions of Horace's Fifth Satire [1817] and Virgil's Aeneid, in the translation by Annibale Caro [1819]. These were produced at her expense and, according to Stuart [1955], were given to the Royal Libraries of Europe.²⁰⁰ Williams confirmed that he attended functions with the Duchess but he did not mention that he was asked to contribute an illustration for her publication of the Aeneid, which was etched by W. F. Gmelin [1745-1821].²⁰¹ The original sepia drawing, on which the etching was based, The Lake of Avernus, is in the Ulster Museum, Belfast (Cat. No. W. 91).

Williams and Douglas left Rome on the 7th January 1817 for Naples²⁰² where they made various excursions to Pompeii, Herculaneum, Portici and Paestum. There are two undated drawings of Pompeii by Williams, which were in the De la Hanty Album and are now with the Fitzwilliam Museum (Cat Nos. W. 96 and 97).

They left Naples for Greece on the night of the 15-16th February 1817, taking six days to reach Otranto, via Bari, on the eastern coast of the heel of Italy.²⁰³ During a short rest in Otranto, Williams made a drawing (presently untraced - however, see **Cat. No. P. 82**) and Douglas ran into some difficulties drawing the courtyard of the Castle;²⁰⁴ a fact which again confirms once again that both men were drawing. They embarked for Greece on the 24th February 1817 and no exact dates are known for any of their activities until their arrival in Patras on the 2nd April. Douglas had been given dispatches by Mr. Wood, the Secretary for Malta, for delivery to Sir Thomas Maitland in Corfu **'In order that I might be taken to Corfu in the vessel which sails weekly between that island and Otranto'**.²⁰⁵ The Douglas correspondence makes it clear that they depended greatly on Maitland for their freedom of travel. During an unscheduled landfall on the Albanian Coast, 80 miles north of Corfu, Williams produced a group of drawings; Coastal Landscape [VAM]; Mountains of Sopra Canina, Gulf of Avlona and Mountain Scenery, Gulf of Aulon (**Cat. No. W. 93 and Nos. P. 93, 126 and 144 respectively**).

Arriving in Corfu, the travellers were accommodated in an apartment in the Venetian Palace²⁰⁶ and spent ten days with their host, Sir Thomas Maitland, Governor of Malta and the Ionian Empire. During this time they had use of a yacht from the Governor's squadron, in which to sail around the island. Maitland also provided an armed Government schooner for the onward journey, calling at Parga, the island of Paxo [modern Paxi] and making an unscheduled stop at Viscarda at the northern tip of Cephalonia [Kefallinia], before reaching Zante [Zakynthos]. Williams produced a drawing, from the deck of the vessel, which is now untraced, but which was published in Part 4 of his Select Views in Greece [1825] (**Cat. No. P. 106**).

After a short stay in Zante they sailed north again, calling at Argostoli [Argostolion], on the western side of Cephalonia, where they dined with the Governor while the Regimental band played Scotch airs. After about a day they set off on foot to cross the island to get a boat to Ithica, [Ithaki] off the eastern coast of Zante and between it and the mainland, their ultimate goal. Three days were spent walking around Ithica in pursuit of Homeric subjects and although Williams makes it clear that they did not manage to visit the site, a large watercolour

School of Homer, Ithica [PC, c.1822, by watermark] has recently come to light. This, like his large watercolours of Marathon [NGS and PC](Cat. No. W. 122) which again, he did not visit, must have been based on a drawing by someone else. On the 1st April²⁰⁷ they sailed for Patras, first port of call on the Greek mainland. Their first landfall was, in fact, the mouth of the river Achelöus, where they had to spend a night. They arrived in Patras on the 2nd April 1817 and lodged with Mr. Bartholl, the Vice Consul. Williams had hardly landed before he began a drawing of the town.²⁰⁸ Drawings made in Patras probably contributed to the large watercolour of this subject, exhibited by Williams in 1822 (19) and 1826 (21) and presently untraced. The subject was also engraved (Cat. No. P. 117) but the watercolour, A Street in Patras, attributed to Hugh Williams by Fani Maria Tsigakou in The Rediscovery of Greece London [1983], is not by him (Cat. No. DA 15).

In Letter LII²⁰⁹ Williams explains how the remainder of the journey was undertaken. They set out from Patras to Vostizza [modern Aiyon] in a party consisting of six people, '**that is to say, our janissary, servant, two mule drivers, Mr. D [William Douglas] and myself**'. The pace was slow and Williams seems to have taken time to produce a number of drawings which were later published; Mountains of Locri Ozolae, looking towards Naupactos and General View of the Corinthian Shore, as seen from a height approaching Vostizza. (Cat Nos. P. 132 and 139) Leaving Vostizza, which is on the northern shore of the Peloponesus, they had to cross the Corinthian Gulf to visit Delphi and were pleased to find a boat going in that direction. They landed at Crissa and set off for Delphi, arriving late in the evening. A very rare group of drawings survives from this part of the journey.[GMAG](Cat Nos. D. 13-16). These are the only known drawings by Williams made in Greece, and one of the sheets became the basis for a large exhibition watercolour, painted later, in Edinburgh.

Williams's Letter LV is dated Delphi, April 1817²¹⁰ but from the anonymous journal of the Secretary to Sir Thomas Maitland, it is possible to date his stay with more precision:

11th April, 1817. We found here Mr. Douglas and Mr. Williams miserably accommodated.²¹¹

From Delphi they carried on, visiting the important sites of the Peloponesian War; Livadia, Thebes and Plataea, before heading south-east to Athens itself. Williams made

drawings of these sites; Ancient Sarcophaghi, Plataea; Thebes in Boeotia; Mount Cithaeron, from the Tombs of Plataea and Plain of Orchomenos from Livadia, all presently untraced, but which were published in his Select Views in Greece between 1823 and 1829. (Cat Nos. P. 92, 96, 136 and 148 respectively). The pace was leisurely and they stayed a night at a Monastery near Daulis [Thavlea], high enough for there to be snow **'even in the middle of April'**

In a letter [from Athens],²¹² dated May 1817, Williams mentioned that he was staying at the house of the Consulina, Theodora Macri.²¹³ The description of the tour of the City of Athens began in letter LXI²¹⁴ and Williams stated that they had the services of Giovanni Battista Lucieri as their guide. Considering the importance of Greece to Williams' subsequent career, it is interesting to see just how little time he and Douglas actually spent in Athens. They must have arrived shortly after 1st May, as the anonymous journal first refers to Williams in an entry on the 11th May and begins with his enthusiasm for the work of Baron Haller von Hallerstein:

Mr. Williams talks in raptures of his drawings and his knowledge as an artist. - Williams himself is indefatigable - from morning until night he is occupied with his pencil, sketching and colouring from nature - the subjects are not to be soon mastered and I fear Williams will not have time enough to study..²¹⁵

The next entry is for 21st May:

Some weeks ago a report reached Athens that the plague had shewn itself in Negropoint but it was not generally believed, in the last few days however, several persons arrived from that quarter, confirming the report and after much disputation, the Government has ordered the gates to be shut and the streets to be cleaned...the English travellers, 18 in number, are hoping to get away - Douglas and Williams, with Count Portalis are gone to Corfu...²¹⁶

Williams's description of the itinerary on leaving Athens is very brief, but it is one of the few clues, in the absence of many drawings made in Greece or of any quantity on the journey home, to the details of that journey:

We have determined then to go to Cape Colonna, and see the Temple of Minerva Sunnais, and the scene of Falconer's Shipwreck; from thence we shall visit the Isle of Aegina, and afterwards cross the Isthmus of Corinth, and advance along the Corinthian shore to Patras, where we are certain of finding a vessel waiting, through the kindness of Sir Thomas Maitland, to convey us to Zante to perform quarantine²¹⁷

As intended, Williams and Douglas visited Cape Sunion, which the artist was to turn into one of his finest watercolours in 1828. (Cat. No. W. 128). They also visited Aegina where Williams presumably made the drawings for a large watercolour Temple of Jupiter Panhellenius, Aegina [NGS](Cat. No. W. 104). According to Williams, the party then sailed to Malta, where they stayed with Sir Thomas Maitland for several days.²¹⁸ There are however no known drawings by Williams of Malta. They sailed on, in the company of Sir Thomas, to Syracuse in Sicily, the subject of an untraced watercolour, exhibited in 1822 (No. 29) and 1826 (No. 63) (See Notes to Cat. No. W. 106). They also visited The Temple of Concord, Agrigento [NGS](Cat. No. D. 20) and later climbed to the top of Etna where Williams described a drawing he made of the crater, presently untraced. They descended to Taormina, where Williams made a large drawing [YCBA](Cat. No. D. 22). Another drawing, also untraced, became the basis of a large exhibition watercolour View of Taormina [NGS](Cat. No. W. 103).

From Taormina they travelled to Messina and Williams stated that they sailed to Leghorn. In fact, they did so via Naples, where Williams spent time working among the elegant villas which once crowned the heights around the bay. Why he should have chosen to make two views of the Villa Salicetti, around the 7th June, is unknown, but these survive. One, a large and freely handled watercolour The Villa Dalgette, Naples [FM] was made on the spot (Cat. No. W. 94) and another smaller work in sepia; Landscape [NGW](Cat. No. W. 95), possibly painted in Edinburgh, was exhibited in 1822. Considering its size and the medium, this may have been intended for Williams' proposed publication 'Select Views in Italy', which never came to fruition.

George Basevi's letters reveal some of the difficulties of the return journey and shed new light on Douglas's illness. On the 16th September 1817 he wrote to his sister saying that he was rushing north to Florence to meet Williams who was now there. On the 1st October he wrote to his father:

Williams, whom I saw at Florence has fired me a little again, he has brought home a most brilliant set of drawings by far the best I have seen... I mentioned to you, no, I think not, the deplorable state of poor Douglas, the companion of Williams, he was found in his berth just before his arrival in Leghorn, motionless, deprived of his senses and the use of the whole of his side, by a paralytic affection. Fortunately the celebrated Dr. Bell of Edinburgh was within reach so he has in great measure relieved him by dint of potent medicines and copious bleeding, but he is as yet by

no means out of danger. There is a chance of them both being in Rome this winter. I hope to heaven they may. Williams is of the utmost service to me.

These drawings of Greece are presently untraced. Basevi returned to Rome to find lodgings for Douglas and Williams. By 13th December he was able to report to his sister that they had at length arrived.²¹⁹ Basevi also took it upon himself to find Williams work and he reported on the 10th January:

Mr. Divett has given Williams, of my recommendation, a commission for four pictures of four feet long by proportionate height. He is to pay only £100 for them. I have been scolding Williams this morning for working under market price. It is really too little to require for a man of his talent.²²⁰

These drawings are presently untraced. On the 23rd March Basevi wrote to his father to say that Williams had left for England. Douglas is not mentioned but it is most likely that he and Douglas travelled home together.

The homeward itinerary can be traced with some certainty in the drawings tipped into the De la Hanty Album. There are dated drawings for Ronciglioni [14th May 1818], Subterranean Chapel near Palestrina [May 1818], Rovedero - Tyrole [18th July 1818], Near Trient, Tyrole [19th July 1818], Innsbruck [undated], Temple of Serapis at Puzzoli [July 1818]. This last is well out of sequence, which suggests that some of the dates may have been added much later [See Chapter 2:3]. It should perhaps read 1817. The sequence carries on - View in the Garden at Dusseldorf [31st August 1818], and verso, Nijmegen [undated]. From this point the journey is conjectural, based on a group of undated drawings. The titles of these [from inscriptions] are; Chantilly; then a group in Paris itself, Tomb of Abelard and Elouise in the Cloisters of the Petit Augustus, Paris; In the Garden of the Petit Augustus, Paris; [Tomb of] La Fontaine; Tombs of Racine & Moliere; Tomb, Paris [of Descartes?]; a panoramic drawing [two sheets] of Lyons, and At Frankfurt on the Mayne. The last may represent a visit made in 1816 and not recorded in the letters kept by Williams or Douglas. The final known drawing made on the Continent was of Utrecht [6th September 1818, RM](Cat. No. D. 23).

It is difficult to imagine the excitement and interest in Williams' journey, in Edinburgh, on his return. Not only had he visited Greece, a country at the edge of the imagination for many in his day, but he brought home portfolios of drawings which satisfied an educated need for images of the Classical sites, with their heroic associations. Dr. Anthony Todd Thomson's

response, quoted in the Introduction to this biography, can be seen as typical. Added to this, he had travelled through a recent war zone and he could tell of signing the visitors book, at the Consulina's house in Athens, on the same page as Lord Byron. His future success was assured. No doubt well advised by Aeneas Macbean, Lord Cockburn and others, he began to capitalise on his success almost immediately, by publishing his correspondence in 1820 and arranging one man exhibitions in 1822 and 1826. Building on this from 1823, he published engravings of his best work, to be considered in detail in Chapter 3.

1:7 *The National Monument, 1819-1829.*

The National Monument was designed as a memorial to those Scots who died at Waterloo. It was to have been a reconstruction of the Parthenon at Athens, but by 1829 only twelve columns had been erected on the Calton Hill in Edinburgh. The laying of the foundation stone by the Earl of Elgin was arranged to coincide with the visit to Scotland by King George IV in August 1822. The history of the Monument has not been fully told, in spite of the fact that there is quite a lot of material, some of it in unexpected places such as the Minutes of Highland Society of Scotland,²²¹ who initiated the project. Edinburgh Public Library has some published material including a pamphlet by George Cleghorn of Weems which gives a short summary of events up to 1824.²²² More recently Ian Gow has looked at the set of presentation drawings made by Cockerell and now in the Royal Scottish Academy²²³ and David Watkin included a concise history in his biography of C. R. Cockerell [1788-1863].²²⁴

The surviving manuscripts are mostly letters to C. R. Cockerell, the designer of the Monument, and relate to the argument over the appointment of a resident Scottish architect to oversee the day-to-day work; a problem finally resolved in October 1824 with the appointment of Williams's friend W. H. Playfair [1790-1857]. The few surviving Minutes of groups entrusted with the construction of the Monument confirm that Hugh Williams was a Director of the Royal Association of Contributors to the National Monument of Scotland, a member of the Committee of Management and a member of the Sub-Committee appointed to encourage subscriptions.²²⁵ Their first published letter, dated 24th January 1822²²⁶ is signed by him and the other members of the Sub-Committee. Further manuscript material includes the Journal kept by C. R. Cockerell recording his visit to Edinburgh in 1822,²²⁷ during the visit of the King. It shows that through his friendship with Cockerell, the Earls of Elgin and Aberdeen [1784-1860], Lord Jeffrey, Lord Cockburn, and W. H. Playfair, Hugh Williams played a powerful role as artistic adviser.

Through his exhibitions in 1822 and 1826 and his work for the National Monument in Edinburgh, Williams had considerable influence on the architecture of Edinburgh and by

extension on the Greek Revival movement in Britain as a whole. There is documentary evidence, already considered, for his friendship with the architect George Basevi who was his pupil in Italy in 1816 and 1818 and also with C. R. Cockerell, whom Williams may have first met there.²²⁸ Both these men played an important part in the Greek Revival movement; Cockerell maintaining his own distinctive and intelligent style, Basevi having his contribution cut short by a fall from scaffolding at Ely Cathedral in 1845. There is also evidence that Williams had an important influence on the architecture of the Edinburgh based architects Thomas Hamilton [1784-1858] and W. H. Playfair.

C. R. Cockerell was particularly interested in the use, noted by David Watkin, of appropriately monumental stone for the construction of Greek Revival buildings.²²⁹ Indeed, some of the largest stones ever cut from the Craigleith Quarry near Edinburgh in 1823, form part of the architrave of the National Monument in Edinburgh, which he designed.²³⁰ However the evidence suggests that it was Hugh Williams who encouraged this aspect of the Revival by his insistence on correct scale and detail on the National Monument.

In 1820 Williams published his own design for the National Monument [although he did not enter the competition to design it], as a frontispiece to the second volume of his Travels in Italy, Greece and the Ionian Islands [1820](Cat. No. P. 74). The engraving reproduced there, Design for a Cemetery is a capriccio, and draws inspiration from Piranesi and stage designs, but from its apparent scale and style, it was obviously meant to inspire others and provoke comment rather than be considered a serious proposal.²³¹

The whole project encouraged quite exceptional nationalistic rhetoric and a remarkable debate about a national style, of which the article in Blackwoods Magazine in July 1819 is typical. The unknown writer compared Scotland to the small republics and city states in the ancient world and the proposed monument to Westminster Abbey and St. Croce in Florence.²³² He came down firmly in favour of the Parthenon as the only suitable model and in doing so, opened a Pandora's box of all sorts of anti-classical sentiment. If the reasons for the monument were national, the argument ran, then surely the building should be national by a national architect!²³³

In a further article in August 1819, only a year after his return, Williams' drawings of Greece were cited as part of the argument for the monument to be situated on the Calton Hill:

The striking similarity of this hill to the Acropolis has been observed by every traveller, and may be perceived in the clearest manner from the beautiful drawings which Mr. Williams has brought home of Grecian Scenery.²³⁴

Williams was placed under further pressure when, in the same article it was suggested that the public should be provided with a drawing of the Parthenon so that they might judge its suitability for themselves:

In order that full justice might be done to the subject, such a drawing ought to be executed by the hand of a master; and we feel confident that in such a cause Mr. Hugh Williams would cheerfully lend his powerful assistance. This gentleman, to the command of matchless skill in execution, and the most refined taste and observation, adds the advantage of having studied the original at Athens.²³⁵

In 1822 Cockerell recorded that he worked closely with Williams on the drawings for the Monument but that he '**felt the necessity of setting forth the Parthenon as a free translation of the original**'.²³⁶ His notes make it clear that he was preparing a paper on a reduced version of the Parthenon²³⁷ and when he showed this to Williams, he '**did not think much of it**'.²³⁸ The Earl of Aberdeen in his An Inquiry into the Principles of Beauty in Grecian Architecture; with an Historical View of the Rise and Progress of the Art in Greece London [1822] was also of the opinion that a reduced version would be more appropriate - an opinion leapt upon by the Edinburgh Review, citing a drawing by Williams as evidence that the monument should be a full restoration:

Mr. Williams's beautiful drawing, in which the Parthenon, *without its sculpture*, forms so remarkable a feature, proves, that even without that addition, it would be an unrivalled addition to the architectural riches of the empire.²³⁹

Until the beginning of the nineteenth century and indeed, Cockerell's own excavations at Aegina and Phigaleia, the volumes of The Antiquities of Athens [1762-1794] by James Stuart and Nicholas Revett were considered to be the most accurate representation of any ancient monuments, in this case in Athens. Cockerell's paper on the Parthenon, mentioned above, cast serious doubt on the accuracy of Stuart and Revett's drawings of that building - particularly of the interior arrangements, and thereby hung the most serious problem. Both Cockerell and Williams, under enormous pressure to match nationalistic enthusiasm, began to

realise that they knew what the building looked like, being part of a very small group of individuals in the country who had seen the original, but that they did not have the necessary information to create a facsimile.

Cockerell while being realistic about the difficulties, appears to have hoped that if he did not produce the drawings the problem would go away. Williams however, either as a result of the weight of local publicity, or from conviction, was simply not able to contemplate a reduced version and at one stage he even wrote to Cockerell chiding him for his tardiness in sending drawings and going on to suggest that he would offer a prize for a model or a drawing of a metope.²⁴⁰

In the event only twelve columns of the National Monument were constructed, under the supervision of W. H. Playfair and it is pertinent that the decision not to carry on with the project for lack of funds, was made in 1829, the same year in which Hugh Williams died.

Williams' feelings about the importance of scale, found expression in an exhibition watercolour, Ruins in the Acropolis of Athens [PC](Figure 1:19) which was first shown in his one man exhibition in Edinburgh in 1822 (No. 13). It shows the Propylaea at Athens, before excavations had fully revealed the Doric columns which formed the inner portico of the entrance to the Athenian Acropolis. The capitals and upper shaft of four columns appear, emerging from the overgrown rubble, with a massive lintel resting on one of them and with the Parthenon beyond. This watercolour [Private Collection, Athens. Signed and dated 1819, 85.0 x 120.0 cms.(seen)] is an extraordinarily powerful image, with the space between the columns and the missing lintels conveying a very tangible sense of scale. The figures are dwarfed beside what are in fact, only the visible parts of the ancient structure. The watercolour, or one of at least three known large versions, was exhibited again in 1826 (No.74) and received further exposure as an engraving entitled Interior of the Acropolis of Athens, from the Propylaea, by John Horsburgh, published in Part II of the Select Views in Greece, just before July 1824 (Cat. No. P. 98).²⁴¹

Williams painted other large watercolours of buildings on the Acropolis of Athens to hang in the exhibitions of his work in 1822 and 1826. He also published engravings of the Parthenon_restored, from drawings by C. R. Cockerell, in his Select Views in Greece,²⁴² all of

which should be seen as part of his promotion of the National Monument scheme. A "View of the Parthenon"²⁴³ hung "in the most prominent part of the Room"²⁴⁴ in 1822 and that exhibition, held in the Calton Convening Rooms, within sight of the Monument site itself, was opened for an additional day [8th April 1822] to raise funds for the project.

The influence Williams had on other Scottish architects is more difficult to trace but the most important fact to realise is that not one of the nineteenth-century Greek Revival architects in Scotland had ever been to Greece or Italy and thus his knowledge and enthusiasm had an enormous impact.²⁴⁵ He had not only seen the original buildings, but drawn them and exhibited his work publicly.

In the work of W. H. Playfair, an attempt at the monumental became rather confused, with details such as consoles and scroll buttresses out of proportion to the size of the building. This is particularly noticeable on the Surgeon's Hall [1829-32], on St. Stephen's Church [1827-8] and to some extent in the decorative frieze on the Royal Institution building, now the Royal Scottish Academy [1822-6; extended, 1831-6], all in Edinburgh

Nowhere is the influence more obvious than in the housing Playfair designed for London Road [Hillside Crescent] in Edinburgh. The corner with Leith Walk [Elm Row], designed in 1820, has a giant Roman order - Doric at one end of the block, Ionic at the other. The result is grand but somehow soul-less. The first seven houses into London Road [Hillside Crescent] are quite different. They were designed in 1823, after the laying of the first stone of the National Monument and Williams's exhibition. Here the architectural emphasis is on the ground floor where a remarkable colonnade of Greek Doric entrances, each door-case composed of baseless, fluted monoliths, carries the eye along the Crescent. The scale is domestic but the use of stone is extravagant and is inspired, without any doubt, by the proposals for the National Monument and the architect's friendship with Hugh Williams.

Perhaps the most interesting influence Williams had on Playfair was on the colour of stone used in public buildings. This is most noticeable in Princes Street where the Academy building, of Craigleith stone is a pale silvery grey while the National Gallery, twenty years later in date, is made of the warm reddish Binney stone, very close in colour to some of the

large Williams watercolours of scenes in Greece. There is no good reason why both should not have been constructed from the same stone.

In 1819 Williams provided a reference²⁴⁶ for Thomas Hamilton, whose Royal High School building is the high point of the Greek Revival movement in Scotland.²⁴⁷ Hamilton's first important commission was for the Burns Monument at Alloway, the drawings for which Williams had seen when he gave Hamilton the reference in 1819. The Monument is based on the Stuart and Revett [1762-1794] engravings of the Lysicrates Monument in Athens. There are no drawings of the Lysicrates Monument by Williams which would suggest that any specific connection between Williams and Hamilton began with the Royal High School project.

The High School was designed in 1824, and the plan is based directly on the plan of the Propylaea at Athens as given by Stuart and Revett. In Athens the visitor entered the Acropolis through the Propylaea - between two rows of Doric columns and under a hexastyle portico composed of columns of the same order but one third as high again. In his design for the High School, Hamilton swung the flanking columns into line with the portico and moved them back, to provide a covered loggia. There is no doubt that the High School was to be seen as a Propylaea to the Parthenon - the National Monument - standing above it on the Calton Hill, although there was never any physical connection between the buildings and none was intended. The individual blocks of stone which make up this well proportioned and graceful building are massive and again, Williams's influence cannot be doubted. Williams's drawing, *Academic Grove, Athens*, published in the *Select Views in Greece* just before April 1826,²⁴⁸ shows, ostensibly, the Parthenon on the Acropolis in Athens, but the detail is adjusted in subtle ways to suggest the Royal High School in Edinburgh with its two flanking pavilions (*Cat. No. P. 112*).

Further research may yet reveal that the 'astounding grandeur'²⁴⁹ of St. Bernard's Crescent [1824], in Edinburgh [architect unknown] with its monumental Doric order, was inspired, not as Grant suggests, by David Wilkie²⁵⁰ but more likely, by Hugh Williams.

During his lifetime Williams' work was able to stop architects in their tracks, as happened to Karl Friedrich Schinkel [1781-1841] on seeing *Athens from the East*, in Benjamin Gott's collection in Leeds in 1826.²⁵¹ Long after his death he was still having an effect. Ten of

his watercolours were exhibited in the Royal Scottish Academy 'Deceased and Living Artists' exhibition in 1880, at which the Edinburgh architect John Lessels [1809-1864] exhibited The Parthenon and Parthenon with Modern Houses near [almost certainly a version of Ruins in the Acropolis of Athens, discussed above], from his collection.

1:8 *The Final Years and Aftermath, 1826-1866.*

Material on the artist's activities in his final years is scant. He carried on working, as the number of versions of the large Greek watercolours testifies, and he was apparently working on a large View of Athens from the East [NGS] until shortly before he died.²⁵² From correspondence with C. R. Cockerell and from a letter from W. H. Playfair to Cockerell, it is clear that he never gave up his restless travelling.²⁵³ Other than the correspondence, there are a few dated drawings in the De la Hanty album which confirm this. These are Beeches in Knowle Park Kent [PC, August, 1826] and a group made at Relugas House [all PC], the home of Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, on the River Findhorn near Nairn. Two of these are dated, one, 14th November 1823 and the other, 25th September 1826. He was in the Highlands, in the Summer before his death, with his new wife, Robina Miller.

Williams had married in 1827²⁵⁴ and it would be an exaggeration to suggest as at least one author does, that he '**married into money**'.²⁵⁵ As a fully professional watercolour painter he was probably always in some financial difficulties, but in the collapse of Messrs. Hurst and Robinson, publishers of his Select Views in Greece, in 1826, he lost in excess of £500. This occurred as a result of the collapse of the publishers Constable and Co. of Edinburgh and represents the first signs of a national slump which lasted until the 1840's. In his Testament Williams gave £100 to his sister Mary in Exeter and £50 to his niece, Elizabeth White. In a codicil he reduced these amounts by half, dividing the remaining £75 between his Trustees, Aeneas Macbean WS (£50) and William Thomson the Miniature Painter (£25).²⁵⁶ This would suggest that he had very little money of his own.

Robina Miller was indeed a wealthy lady and at her death on the 16th July 1874, she left in excess of £120,000 - an extraordinary sum for the date.²⁵⁷ Much of this money was tied up in stocks and shares, mainly in railway stock, and it may be that her wealth was tied up at the time of her marriage. In her Testament she made good the bequest to Williams' niece of £100 and gave her an annuity of £100. By this date Mary Williams had died. Robina was generous with the works by Williams which she appears to have inherited by unwritten

agreement. She presented these to the newly built National Gallery of Scotland in October 1859:

My late husband Mr. Williams, having been considered during his life among the foremost of Scotch Artists, and his reputation having been fully sustained since, it is my earnest desire that his memory should be perpetuated in the way which I feel sure would be most consonant with his own wishes. With this view I hereby offer such of his works as are in my possession or such a portion as may be considered best suited to the purpose, to be added to the collection in the national Gallery, and I am prepared to give them at once, on the simple condition that they may be so arranged and as far as possible, kept together in the Gallery, as to answer the purpose not merely of adding works of high artistic merit to the Collection, but primarily of establishing a lasting testimonial to the talents of my lamented husband...²⁵⁸

The works were examined and presumably selected by Lord Elcho and the Keeper, W. B. Johnstone RSA, **'who reported them to be of great merit and recommended acceptance'**. The Minutes record that the watercolours were all put together in one of the small octagons, **'thus forming a small watercolour collection'** which became the nucleus of the present collection of prints and drawings. The group included the large watercolour of the View of the Temple of Olympian Zeus, Athens [NGS](Cat. No. W. 102), presented in the same year by Robert Horn, a neighbour of Robina Miller. It is interesting to note that the Minutes of the Board of Manufactures record, at around the time of Robina's presentation, that 79,612 visitors were recorded, with 4784 catalogues sold, in the period between 22nd March and 31st October 1859.

The items accepted by the Gallery included a bronze model of the Parthenon about which little is known, and a pair of volumes of proof plates for the Select Views in Greece, including some plates not published. There were pictures by other artists, for example, French Pastoral, by J. A. Watteau [1684-1721], and Landscape Composition, by the Rev. John Thomson of Duddingston, but as these may have been collected after the death of Williams, they are beyond the scope of this thesis.

The pictures included one oil on canvas by Williams, the large Castle Urquhart, Loch Ness [NGS](Cat. No. OP.2.). This raises a question about the whereabouts of other oil pictures by the artist, which were exhibited as late as 1827, at the Sixth Exhibition of the Royal Institution for the Encouragement of the Arts in Scotland [See Appendix I and Chapter 2:5]. On

that occasion, Castle Urquhart (No. 83) was accompanied by River Scenery, painted after the manner of the Venetians (17), Scene near Ariano, Calabria (108) and Rock Scenery (117), both also said to be in the manner of the Venetians. The previous year he had exhibited Restoration of a Greek Town (91), at the same venue. This was said to be in oil, in the review published in the Edinburgh Weekly Journal.²⁵⁹

It may be that these works in oil were sold at exhibition, which would be surprising in a time of economic depression, but equally, they are not mentioned in the list of pictures still in Robina Miller's possession at the time of her death in 1874. These included two '**paintings**' by Williams, Loch Ranza in Arran and Linlithgow Palace, both presently untraced, which were moved from her house at Earnock on the West coast, to 11 Ainslie Place. The Loch Ranza in Arran may have been related to the small sketch of the same subject presented to the Gallery in 1859 (Cat. No. W. 11). No. 11 Ainslie Place did contain other unrecorded pictures, bequeathed to the Edmonstone family of Duntreath, in Robina's Testament. She stipulated that all the pictures, except those noted in her own handwriting, were part of this bequest. What became of the annotated pictures is unknown and 11 Ainslie Place with its contents, was sold and dispersed at an unknown date in the Twentieth century.²⁶⁰

At least two important sales were held after the artist's death. The first, a studio sale, was organised by his Trustees and formed '**but a small portion of his Studies, and [did] not include any of those exquisite and Classical Studies of Scenes in Greece and Italy**'.²⁶¹ The sale did contain additional items, such as framed pictures by other artists; Peter Nasmyth, Miss C. Nasmyth and W. J. Thomson; large canvases (3), with outlines for views and some said to be by Old Masters. This group contained a Battle Piece by Salvator Rosa, a Landscape by Both, two Heads after Rembrandt and others. The sale of prints occupied three days and this group contained some interesting items - etchings by Countess Flauhault, discussed in Chapter 1:3; a collection of twenty-one prints of landscape, by Bolswert after Rubens and seven plates after Benozzo Gozzoli. This last group is listed in detail (Lots 766-772) and is surprising because the prints sold appear to be the ones with little or no landscape.

Some of the large Greek views left in the studio were those presented to the National Gallery of Scotland, by Robina in 1859. However, a large number of Greek views were in the

hands of the artist's Trustee [and landlord until his marriage], Aeneas Macbean WS. His sale, after his death in 1858 was combined with that of the artist's friend, the architect W. H. Playfair. The sale catalogue makes the distinction between the two collections, but not clearly enough to prevent some confusion.²⁶² Playfair had nine works by Williams, one of which is probably Heidelberg, now in the National Gallery of Scotland (Cat. No. W. 111). Macbean had the most substantial collection - some fifty enumerated works, eleven sketchbooks and a great number of sketches. Most interestingly, he also may have had another untraced oil canvas, a Copy of the Thunderstorm, by Poussin, in the Torrie Collection.

The large group of watercolours was prefaced by the remark '**nearly all the Drawings in this Collection are the originals of the well known Views in Greece**'. In fact, this should not be taken at face value and the copy of the sale catalogue in the Victoria and Albert Museum, is most revealing about the true nature of the collection.

Some of the works were indeed the 'originals', i.e. the watercolours presented to the engraver, for eventual publication as the Select Views in Greece, between 1823 and 1829. These works have been discussed in Chapter 2 and they sold for modest sums from £3 to £6. The first five lots (38-42) however, were much larger works and these sold for between £42 and £84. This sale catalogue together with the catalogues of his exhibitions in 1822 and 1826, forms the most important evidence for an understanding of the large exhibition watercolours and their versions.

Hugh Williams had been recognised as an arbiter of taste, probably from early in his career, but certainly after his Grand Tour. He advised, in 1821, on the collection of suitable plaster casts for the Trustees Academy collection,²⁶³ and in that year he was also consulted professionally by Sir William and Lady Gordon Cumming of Altyre with regard to a building project they had in hand with W. H. Playfair.²⁶⁴ Williams sent a '**budget**' and promised drawings, which may mean that this was for a scheme of interior decoration. He was later in correspondence with C. R. Cockerell, in 1828, about the most appropriate background colour on which to display watercolours. He dashed off a large sample of the dark green colour he recommended with the comment, '**It is adopted here in most of the principal houses of virtue - crimson curtains is just the thing. Yellow fringe - and gold mouldings certainly**'.²⁶⁵

Williams also advised collectors on purchases and may even have acted on their behalf. The sale catalogue of the banker Alexander Smith records on the front cover that they were **'selected by order of an eminent collector, now deceased, by the late Hugh Williams Esq.'** and individual pictures, some of them important and identifiable works by Dutch artists, are also likewise annotated.²⁶⁶

Hugh Williams died on 14 June 1829 aged 56, and was buried in the Miller of Dalnair family plot in the Canongate Cemetery, Edinburgh on the 22nd June.²⁶⁷ The sandstone monument is in a classical style, designed by W. H. Playfair in 1841,²⁶⁸ but in 1863 it was altered by the insertion of a red granite slab, on which was placed a silhouette portrait of the artist, in bronze by Sir John Steell.²⁶⁹ The site is dominated by the slope of the Calton Hill above it and the Greek Revival portico of Thomas Hamilton's Royal High School. The school opened on the day before Williams died and the gleaming white sandstone columns of the Doric order, an echo of the columns in his view of the Temple of Posidon, Cape Sunion, provided a fitting backdrop for his burial.

Summary.

Hugh Williams has always had a reputation, as his nickname suggests, for his views of Greek subjects. This he achieved through his watercolours but more widely through the publication of the Select Views in Greece from 1823. The new material presented here suggests that this was not his most important contribution to British art but rather his topographical studies of Scottish scenery, made prior to 1800. Evidence has been presented which shows that his large watercolours of Scottish castles, lochs and mountain views were on sale in Glasgow, possibly from 1792, certainly from 1794. These were in many cases, the earliest full colour views of the scenes in question and were already being copied by 1794, in Charles Buchanan's drawing classes. This places Williams as the leading figure in the formation of Picturesque taste in Scotland, inspiring his contemporaries such as Alexander Nasmyth, whose earliest views of scenery were not visible to the general public until their exhibition with the Associated Artists (Edinburgh) in 1808. His views of houses were private commissions with very limited circulation.

In this respect Williams also deserves to be considered a figure of national importance. This is reinforced by his activities in founding the Associated Artists in London, bringing together an important group of practitioners who did not fit easily with the older and more established groups. His previously unrecognised exhibition at the Royal Academy in 1800 of Kenmore on Loch Tay [1799], should be seen as part of the pressure for watercolours to be taken seriously as works of art. At the same time, this large watercolour brought Scottish scenery to a wider audience - who did not make the tour and who did not therefore pass the print shops in Glasgow or Edinburgh where Williams' work would have been available.

New material presented here suggests that Hugh Williams may have worked as an actor as well as a scene painter, from as early as 1790. The figure of Mr. Cheap Cooper has also been given new and deserved prominence.

As a consequence of his continental journey of 1816-18, Williams gained a place on the international stage. This is reflected in the publication of his own views of Greek scenery and in his work for the Duchess of Devonshire in Rome, where he worked alongside some of the leading British artists and architects. It has been stated here that Williams was part of a very small group of people who ventured as far as Greece, while on his Grand Tour. In his watercolours of these scenes he undoubtedly had an impact on the momentum if not the quality of the Greek Revival movement in Architecture - specifically so in Edinburgh. Time will reveal his impact on the work of C. R. Cockerell and George Basevi in London.

Hugh Williams was such a successful watercolour painter that he 'cornered the market' in Scotland in the nineteenth century. Alexander Nasmyth made a number of successful watercolours in the late 1780's but writers have found it difficult to point to any sustained practice. Even his son, Patrick Nasmyth [1787- 1831] owes much to Hugh Williams in his style and his most productive period in the watercolour medium occurred in England and after Williams' death in 1829. Andrew Wilson [1780-1840] painted many fine watercolours in the delicate style practised by Williams, but he spent most of his life abroad or in London. Julian Halsby's survey [1986] struggles to produce evidence of any school of watercolour at all in Scotland until well after Williams' death. Evidence presented here suggests that James Stevenson was the only serious rival to Williams, at least in terms of work exhibited.

By his tireless effort from about 1792, Williams supplied most of what the market demanded and certainly after his continental journey in 1816-18 he was the most prominent watercolourist in Scotland.

- 1 Private Collection: THOMSON, Dr. Anthony Todd, Journal of a holiday in parts of England and Scotland. 1823. Unpublished typescript. Original manuscript untraced. I am indebted to Dr. Ian Gregg for having provided me with extracts from the typescript.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 WILSON, John: Noctes Ambrosianae. Edinburgh [1854] Four Volumes. Vol. I, pp. 316-17; Vol. II, p. 332.
- 4 Blackwoods Magazine [1829] No. CLV, Vol. XXVI, August, p. 270(b).
- 5 Scottish Record Office: National Register of Archives (Scotland). 14810, Stirling of Garden Papers, Bundle 188. Letter from Hugh William Williams to Rev William MacGregor Stirling, May 1815.
- 6 NATIONAL GALLERY OF SCOTLAND: Catalogue Descriptive and Historical, of the National Gallery of Scotland, ed. W. B. Johnstone, [Presentation edition.?] (Quarto) Edinburgh [1859] p. 87, No. 27; p. 92, No. 209. Supplement dated 1st Dec. 1859, pp. 1-9, Nos. 340-368, 370, 372[corrected to 371], 372.
- 7 NATIONAL GALLERY OF SCOTLAND: Catalogue of the National Gallery of Scotland. ed. Robert Gibb, 35th Edition, Glasgow [1899] p. 196, No. 259; p. 237, No. 6; pp. 249-256.
- 8 Op. Cit. CAW [1980] p. 151.
- 9 Op. Cit. CAW [1909]. Vol. 21, p.407
- 10 Op. Cit. CAW [1909]. Vol. 21, p.407.
- 11 Scottish Record Office (East). RD5/Vol. 39, f. 234. Probate Trust Settlement of Hugh William Williams, Recorded 27th June 1829. '**Mary Williams or Charter, living at Paul Street, Exeter**'.
- 12 Ibid. '**My niece, Elizabeth White**'. The artist's widow, Robina Miller, also mentions Elizabeth [with the addition of the middle name] in her will, giving her a legacy of £100 and an annuity of the same amount '**only if she makes no claim on her husband's estate**'. See Scottish Record Office (East): Testament of Robina Miller [died 16th July 1874]. SC70/1/169. f. 1081. Also a Trust Disposition, RD5/1513. f. 499. Dated 25th November 1873. Elizabeth is also mentioned in the 1851 Census for St. Paul's Parish, Exeter, Upper Paul Street. '**Elizabeth W. White, [age] 36, [profession] Proprietor of Houses, [born] Hackney, Middlesex**'. It is possible to suggest that she may be the Elizabeth White, born in London in 1815 and baptised, 7th June 1820. See, Greater London Record Office. Baptism Register, entry No. 2221. '**Elizabeth White, Reported born 28th December 1815, Baptised, 7th June 1820. Father, James White, Mother, Elizabeth White**'. Her mother, Elizabeth White was presumably Elizabeth Williams before her marriage and another sister to Hugh and Mary. She may also have been born in the gap in the records or born while her father was away, as suggested by Margaret Swain, and also sent away to London.
- 13 Devon Record Office: Parish Registers, Honiton. Baptisms 1770-1786. Mary Williams, 5th April 1771. Ibid. Marriages 1770. John Williams of this Parish and Mary Soper of the same. By banns, 22nd February 1770. John signed the Register but Mary made her mark. Witnesses; Mary Barnes, John Sexton. Mary married a widower, James Charter, Comptroller of Customs for Exeter, in June 1805. See, Gentleman's Magazine. London [1804]. Part II, p. 794(b). 15th August 1804, Death Notice of Anne, wife of James Charter. Also, Devon Record Office: Parish Records for Honiton, Devon. No. 172, Marriage of James Charter and Mary Williams, 27th June 1805. Mary is recorded as a spinster 'of this Parish.'
- 14 Old Edinburgh Parish Registers, Canongate burials, 22nd June 1829. Williams died on the 14th June.
- 15 Margaret Swain has suggested to me that Hugh may have been an illegitimate child, born while his father was away, possibly at sea. In the eighteenth century it was apparently

quite common for a father to adopt such children on his return, but send them away to be looked after or to earn a living for themselves.

16 Op. Cit. CAW [1909]. Vol. 21, p.407

17 Edinburgh City Archives. MSS Register of Aliens, Vol. I, p. 43.

18 Francesca R. Serra Ridgway informs me that this was part of a larger late 18th century activity. Lorenzo Da Ponte moved from Vienna to New York to teach Italian language and Literature and Ugo Foscolo, the poet, sought refuge in London in 1815, where he gave lessons in Italian.

19 Caledonian Mercury: No. 9530, 28th September 1782, p. 1(b), repeated 9th October, p. 1(a).

20 Louis Ruffini has been the subject of detailed research by Margaret Swain who explored his activities as a professional embroiderer but did not know of the connection with Hugh Williams. See, SWAIN, Margaret H.: The Flowerers. The Origins and History of Ayrshire Needlework. London and Edinburgh [1955] Chapter 4.

21 Scottish Record Office (West), NG1/1/23. Minutes of the Board of Manufactures, 29th January 1783.

22 Op. Cit, 7th March 1785.

23 Op. Cit, 14th March 1785.

24 SINCLAIR, Sir JOHN: Statistical Account of Scotland Edinburgh [1794] Vol. XII, No. II, Parish of Dalkeith [entry by Rev. Mr. William Scott], p. 22.

25 Scottish Record Office (West), NG1/1/25. Minutes of the Board of Manufactures, 17th February 1790.

26 Scottish Record Office, 6851/52 p. 58. Registration of Marriage of Louis Ruffin and Mary Steel, 16th April 1790.

27 Private Letter from Ms. Liz. Arthur, Assistant Keeper, Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries, 17th October 1989. In July 1786 Ruffini advertised in the Glasgow Courier that he **'has for a number of years carried on a Tambour-Work in Edinburgh'** and that he intended setting up a business of the same kind in Glasgow.

28 Caledonian Mercury: 10th March 1791, No. 10,845, p. 4(b). Advertisement for meeting of Creditors in Glasgow, 12th March 1791. Op. Cit, 12th March 1791, No. 10,846, p. 3(d). Advertisement for the lease, from Whit Sunday (May) 1792, of Ruffini's house at St. Leonard's, Edinburgh. Op. Cit, 17th March 1791, No. 10,848, p. 4(a). Further advertisement of creditors' meeting, to be held on the 20th April, 1791. Also announced that John Kirkland, Ruffini's interim Factor, applied to the Sheriff of Lanark to have Ruffini, members of his family and others acquainted with his business, examined during four days at the Court House of Glasgow. To begin on Monday 21st March and on the following three Mondays. All sederunt books and records other than the essential papers for Glasgow Sheriff Court, have been destroyed.

29 There is a copy of WILLIAMS, H. W.: Travels in Italy, Greece and the Ionian Islands Edinburgh [1820], in a private collection in Athens, which is inscribed **'to Mr. Cockayne, from his friend the author'**.

30 Private Letter from Mrs. L. M. Huart, the Garrison Librarian, Gibraltar, 14th November 1988. Also, The Gibraltar Directory [1936]: List of Governors, Lieutenant Governors and Commandants of the Fortress of Gibraltar, p. 56. A Col. George Lewis did however serve for a short time on the island. See Gentleman's Magazine [1804]; Part I, p. 478(b). **'who distinguished himself by his activity and services during the siege of Gibraltar, when the artillery under his command, destroyed the combined floating batteries of France and Spain, on the memorable 13th September 1782'**.

31 Victoria and Albert Museum. MSS. L. 3436(6). L. 975. Letter from Hugh William Williams to Thomas Lauder Dick, dated (postmark 'Belford') 20th September 1814.

32 Scottish Record Office (West), CS231 Sequestration, R1/9, 1791.

33 I am grateful to Marion Richardson, the Local Studies Librarian at Dalkeith for pointing out the reference to Meggett [sic] in the London newspaper City Press for 6th August 1870. The story is related by Thomas Tegg, who was an apprentice bookseller with Meggett from 1785, before he ran away. **'Mr Meggett was a model of kindness, but he was in fact, a tyrant as well as an infidel. . . . Every market day he got drunk and came home to beat the whole of us. Once, I said, 'I have done nothing to deserve a beating'. 'Young**

English rascal' said he, 'you may want it when I am too busy, so I will give it you now!'

- 34 Scottish Record Office (West). CS234 R12/13, 1804. Decreet of Cessio Bonorum dated 11th July 1804. Ruffini was in prison from 29th to 31st May 1803 and obtained release on the intervention of his Surgeon who testified that his life was in danger. He was only allowed out until he was well enough to return and he was in prison again in July 1804. He owed £107. 17. 0 to a list of Edinburgh creditors; mainly for domestic supplies, and the list included David Bridges whose shop was a meeting place for artists and '**Gavin Beugo, Painter**'. The Gavin had been crossed through and this is more likely to be John Beugo [1759-1841] the engraver. After his sequestration in Glasgow, Ruffini had to apply to the Court for protection and did so on the 1st Dec. 1792 from Musselburgh and in May, and November of 1793 and 1794, from Dalkeith. The Decreet of 1804 may be seen as a way of avoiding this expensive course of action.
- 35 Ruffini is not mentioned in any of the manuscript material collected for the production of A. MANNO: Il Patriziato Subalpino. Firenze [1895-6]. (Private letter from Dr. Giovanna Bernard, Biblioteca Reale, Turin. 12th September 1989). A subscription for Ruffini's benefit was arranged on the West coast in 1801. See Scottish Record Office (West). Minutes of the Board of Manufactures, 8th July 1801.

There is evidence which confirms that Ruffini had a great deal of influence, in Scotland and in Italy. See: Edinburgh University Library MSS. Gen. 873/111/133-4. Letter from Louis Ruffini to Dr. Joseph Black M. D. [1728-1799], dated 5th January 1789, requesting a reference for William Roebuck [son of Dr. John Roebuck M. D. 1718-1794]. Ruffini states that he has a commission from the Court of Sardinia, to find a Mining expert and that he intends recommending William Roebuck. Roebuck's Report on the Mining possibilities in Sardinia exists in the Archivio di Stato, Turin and in it he mentions that: '**Signor Ruffini showed me some fossilised coal which had been given him by Professor Regis . . . it was found near the village of Morbel, eight miles from Acqui**'. Professor Regis is probably Robert Jameson [1774-1854], Regius Professor of Natural History at Edinburgh University, from 1804-1854.
- 36 W. FETTES DOUGLAS: Catalogue of the National Gallery of Scotland, 31st Edition, Edinburgh [1879], p. 153.
- 37 Op. Cit. SWAIN [1956].
- 38 Taking into account the published record of the artist's birth and the entry in Graves [1906] which noted the exhibition of a view of Greenwich Hospital by one 'H. Williams' in 1792, it seemed appropriate to check the records of the Hospital for the entry of orphans. No reference to Hugh Williams appeared there.
- 39 Scottish Record Office (West), CS231 Sequestration, R1/9, 1791.
- 40 See GORDON, T. Crouther: David Allan of Alloa 1744-1796 Alva [1951].
- 41 STARK, John: The Picture of Edinburgh. Edinburgh [1819]. p. 243. Williams is not mentioned in a list of artists given in the 1811 Edition, nor is he mentioned in the same article in the 1823, 1825 and 1829 editions. Williams had business dealings with a Mr. Stark, so it may be that he was well informed. See, National Library of Scotland. MSS 3713, f. 17r. Letter from Hugh Williams from 65 Castle Street (thus between 1819 and 1827), which refers to '**returning the cancels with an additional one which he wishes to have printed as soon as possible. The whole is now finished + he is sure Mr. Starks printing will, as it has already done, meet great approbation**'.
- 42 NASMYTH, James: James Nasmyth Engineer: An Autobiography, ed. Samuel Smiles, London [1883] p. 51.
- 43 Op. Cit. SWAIN [1956] p. 28.
- 44 Op. Cit. GORDON [1951] p. 43.
- 45 IRWIN, Francina: 'Scottish Eighteenth-century Chintz and its Design' in The Burlington Magazine Vol. CVII [1965]. September pp. 452-458 and October, pp. 510-514. This reference, p.457(b).
- 46 Op. Cit. SWAIN [1956].
- 47 See Section 1, fn. 24.
- 48 OP. Cit. BRYDALL [1889] p. 134.

- 49 GORDON, T. Crouther: David Allan of Alloa 1744-1796. The Scottish Hogarth. Alva [1951], p.44.
- 50 SWAIN, Margaret: 'A Georgian Mystery' in Country Life, 12th August 1982, pp. 470-472.
- 51 IRWIN, David and Francina: Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad 1700-1900. London [1975] p. 92.
- 52 Op. Cit. GORDON [1951] p. 43.
- 53 It is for this reason that I consider the large water-colour A Highland Dance [D5185], most recently purchased by the National Galleries, NOT to be fully the work of Allan but possibly to be a copy after a painting by him. The figures may be by Allan but there is a delicacy and control of aerial perspective in this water-colour which is absent in any others by Allan that I have seen. For a colour illustration, see From Leonardo to Manet. Ten Years of Collecting Prints and Drawings Edinburgh, National Galleries of Scotland [1994], p. 14, No. 50.
- 54 Glasgow Courier, Vol. IV, No. 496, 30th October 1794, p. 3(c).
- 55 RAMSAY, Allan: The Gentle Shepherd Edinburgh [1788] Dedication by David Allan.
- 56 JENKINS, Ian and SLOAN, Kim: Vases and Volcanoes: Sir William Hamilton and his Collection London [1996] p. 284. See also colour illustrations of two watercolours by David Allan, p. 243. Jenkins and Sloan repeat the unsubstantiated opinion, presented by FOTHERGILL, Brian: Sir William Hamilton, Envoy Extraordinary London [1969] that Sir William Hamilton did not attend a University. There is evidence that a William Hamilton attended Dr. Alexander Munro's classes in Anatomy at the University of Edinburgh in the years 1743-1745, where he would have overlapped by one year with James Hutton [1726-1797]. [EUL, Special Collections - Professor Munro's Class Lists] This would probably also brought him into contact with the connoisseur and teacher Richard Cooper senior [1704-1765].
- 57 See CHESSEX, Pierre and others: Images of the Grand Tour. Louis Ducros 1748-1810. The Iveagh Bequest, Kenwood [1985] p. 13(a). They refer to, J. G. MEUSEL: Miscellaneen artistischen Inhalts [1786].
- 58 GRIFFITHS, Antony: 'Notes on Early Aquatint in England and France' in Print Quarterly IV, London [1987] pp. 255-70.
- 59 See COOKSEY, J. C. B.: Alexander Nasmyth HRSA. 1758-1840 Whittinghame House [1991].
- 60 See COOKSEY [1991] p. 63. for a possible explanation of the nick-name. Alexander Nasmyth had been employed at the Theatre Royal in Edinburgh until the proprietor, Richard Kemble, as part of an efficiency drive, decided to employ someone else. A critic published an open letter addressed to Kemble which said **'You have withdrawn your employment from a great artist, and given it to another whose cheapness constitutes in your eyes the greater part of his merit.'** Nasmyth obviously held no grudge as he and Mr. Cooper worked together on a Panorama of London, advertised in the Glasgow Courier on 1st July 1801.
- 61 MARTIN, Mr: Catalogue of a Choice Collection of Capital Prints, Drawings etc. The Collection of the late Mr. Cheap Cooper, Painter of Scenery at the Theatre Royal. Mr. Martin at Ross and Blackwood's Sale Room, 63 South Bridge, Edinburgh. [1803] p. 10.
- 62 Op. Cit. COOKSEY [1991] p. 63.
- 63 Christies, London 12th November 1991, Lot. 81.
- 64 The damaged figure was replaced late in the nineteenth century by one of a more appropriate size, in stone.
- 65 COOKSEY [1991] p. 63.
- 66 One of these was exhibited with Oscar and Peter Johnson in The Technique of Watercolour Art in England, 29th November to 15th December 1972. Illustrated in Connoisseur Magazine December 1992 Vol. 181, p. 65.
- 67 Offered for sale by Oscar and Peter Johnson Ltd along with another of the same title. Both signed and dated 1797. Connoisseur Magazine [1972] December, Vol. 181, p.65. Two illustrations, black and white.
- 68 MACMILLAN, Duncan: Painting in Scotland, The Golden Age Oxford [1986], p. 140b.
- 69 MILES, Hamish: 'John Graham and the Trustees Academy' in Scottish Arts Review Vol. 14, No. 4. Part 1, pp. 17-20, 29-30. Glasgow [1975] and Part 2, Vol. 15, No. 1. pp. 19-23. Glasgow [1977]. This ref. Part 2. p. 19(b).
- 70 Glasgow Courier. Vol. II, No. 282, p. 3(d), 18th June 1793.

- 71 Caledonian Mercury No. 9545, 2nd November 1782, p. 1(a).
- 72 D'ASTI, Major: An Address to the Nobleman and Gentleman of Scotland with the Rules of the Military Academy, Edinburgh. Instituted, November 1787. Edinburgh [1787] pp. 15-6. See also, THOMSON, John: 'The Edinburgh Military and Naval Academy' in Edinburgh History Magazine, No. 5.
- 73 It is perhaps significant that George Walker advertised Drawing classes in the same year. See this thesis, p.
- 74 Christies, London, 12th November 1991, Lot 82.
- 75 WILLIAMS, H. W. : Travels in Italy, Greece and the Ionian Islands Edinburgh [1820], Vol. II, p. 330-6.
- 76 A large water colour by Williams A View of the Clyde near the High Road above Kilpatrick appeared for sale at Messrs Christie in London, in 1980. (18th June 1980, Lot 86a). This work was said to be signed with the artist's initials and was paired with a view of Loch Lomond, dated 1794. From a black and white photograph, the artist appears to have used a lighter coloured bodycolour in the lower right corner, to paint over a dark ground, indicating leaves and a small group of sheep. This is the only example I know showing the apparent use of bodycolour.
- 77 Op. Cit. HALSBY [1986] p. 41.
- 78 Yale Center for British Art: MSS Record Books, kept by David Roberts between 1817 and 1864. See also SIM, Katherine: David Roberts R.A.: A Biography London [1984] pp. 20-1.
- 79 HIGHFILL, Phillip H. , BURNIM, Kalmana and LANGHAMS, Edward A. : A Biographical Dictionary of Actors. . . in London. 1660-1800. Carbondale [1973] Vol. 8, pp. 233-4.
- 80 Glasgow Courier. Vol. II, No. 261, p. 4(b). 30th April 1793. In a new Pantomime taken from the Arabian Nights - *The Chest of Enchantment or the Release of the Genie.*
- 81 Glasgow Courier. Vol. II, No. 263, p. 3(c). 4th May 1793.
- 82 Glasgow Courier. 29th August 1793, p. 3(d) and 24th September 1793, p. 3(c).
- 83 Glasgow Courier. 15th May 1794, p. 3(c) and 31st May 1794, p. 3(d). [The Drawing Academy advertisement repeated, 3rd and 5th June 1794.]
- 84 Glasgow Courier. Vol. VI, No. 844, p. 3(b). Thursday 19th January 1797. Repeated, 23rd, 24th, 26th, 30th, 31st and 6th February. The advertisement lists the performers; BRITISH OFFICERS, MR. D'EGVILLE, Mr. Williams. . . SENTINEL, Mr. Allan. . . and in the Olympian Revels or Harlequin Momus; APOLLO, Mr. Williams; JEW'S SERVANT, Mr. Allan.
- 85 Op. Cit. SWAIN [1955] p. 26.
- 86 Glasgow Courier, 11th April 1793, Vol. II, No. 253, p. 3(c).
- 87 Glasgow Courier, 30th April 1793, Vol. II, No. 261, p. 3(d).
- 88 Glasgow Courier, 30th March 1793, Vol. II, No. 248, p. 3(c). This metamorphic scenery sounds very much like that attributed to Alexander Nasmyth by the artist David Roberts and may thus call into question his sweeping statement that all of the scenery there was by Nasmyth. Perhaps the large drop scene of the Clyde was by Williams. See BALLANTINE, James: The Life of David Roberts RA, compiled from his Journals and other sources Edinburgh [1866] pp. 13 and 14.
- 89 An 'H. Williams, Painter' from the 'Navy Office', exhibited with the Free Society in London between 1779 and 1783. This is not the artist of this study but he may be the man who exhibited with the Royal Academy. The lapse in time counts against it and the subjects he exhibited were mainly shipping. See GRAVES, Algernon: The Society of Artists of Great Britain. 1760-1791, The Free Society of Artists. 1761-1783 London [1907] p. 280.
- 90 Glasgow Courier. Vol. VI, No. 841, p. 3(a). Thursday 12th January 1797. The Capture of the Cape of Good Hope was first performed on the 10th January 1797.
- 91 Op. Cit. [MARTIN] 1803 p. 13.
- 92 Edinburgh Evening Courant. 9th, 13th and 25th February 1797.
- 93 BRYDALL, Robert: Art in Scotland its Origin and Progress Edinburgh [1889], p.300, Fn.
- 94 Glasgow Courier. Vol. II, No. 238, p.3(b). 7th March 1793. Advertisement first appeared Tuesday 26th February, repeated 2nd March.
- 95 Glasgow Courier. Vol. II, No. 282, p.3(d). 18th June 1793.
- 96 Glasgow Courier. Vol. IV, No. 588, p.3(d). 2nd June 1795.

- 97 Glasgow Courier. 5th April 1794, p.3(c). David Niven Printer and Bookseller advertised several original Drawings in Water Colours of the most remarkable Views upon the River Clyde, Loch Lomond etc.
- 98 Glasgow Courier. 23rd June 1795, p.4(b). C. Buchanan, Writing and Drawing Master. 'has been at considerable expence in purchasing very elegant drawings from the most eminent masters; principally from Williams, whose chief merit as a Landscape Painter in water colours rival the first in the art'. This may have been the same C. Buchanan who published *A Walk from the Town of Lanark to the Falls of the Clyde on a Summer Afternoon in Glasgow in 1816* and possibly also the anonymous *Compliments to Painters of Eminence, Natives of Scotland*. Edinburgh [1797], both of which mention Williams. Is he also a Williams pupil?
- 99 Lady Caroline Lucy Scott [1784-1857], second daughter of Lord Douglas, was also a landscape painter and a pupil of J. S. Cotman. See MALLALIEU, H. L.: The Dictionary of British Watercolour Artists up to 1920 Woodbridge [1986], Vol. I, p.232.
- 100 See [SCOTT, Lord Henry James and DALRYMPLE, Hew Hamilton] Catalogue of Pictures at Dalkeith House. Privately Printed, Dalkeith [1911]. Pictures by Hugh Williams - Lodge, High Dressing Room: Nos 440, 442, 447 and Stewards Room: Nos 548 and 549.
- 101 There is no evidence that the important series of landscapes of the scenery around Dalkeith House, painted by George Barret sen. in 1769-70, were indeed in the house. These seven very large canvases (231.0 x 201.0 cms.) and a number of smaller ones, are now at Bowhill House along with the majority of the Old Master landscapes from Dalkeith. See Country Life, 3rd May 1984, p.1231-33, (illustrated). The Barret landscapes do not appear in the Catalogue of the Pictures at Dalkeith House by Francis Steuart, Privately Printed. Dalkeith [1890] nor in the Catalogue of Pictures at Dalkeith House, by H. J. S. [Henry James Scott] and H. H. D [Hew Hamilton Dalrymple], Privately Printed, Dalkeith [1911]. The earlier catalogue includes many minor items and the later one was printed 'in consequence of fresh information...and the re-arrangement of many of the pictures...'. John Harris, in The Artist and the Country House London [1979], p. 252b, has suggested that the large pictures may have been inspired by George Lambert's views of Westcombe House, painted for the 9th Earl of Pembroke and which hung in his London house, next to Montague House, the Buccleuch London residence. It may well be that the Barret pictures were painted for Montague House.
- 102 Edinburgh Evening Courant, 9th, 13th and 25th February, 1797.
- 103 The 3rd Duke died in 1810.
- 104 Christies: Sale Catalogue, Fine Paintings and Drawings. Edinburgh, 26th April 1990. Lots 501-547. Illustrated with my photographs.
- 105 As the album carried a gold tooled monogram 'FD' surmounted by a Baron's coronet, then it is most likely it was made up after Sir John was created a Baronet, on the 27th February 1828 and possibly even as a memorial to him and Hugh Williams, both of whom died in May/June 1829.
- 106 See, ROCK, J.: 'The Houses of the Dick Lauder family' in The Scottish Country House 1660-1800 Edinburgh [1995].
- 107 Victoria and Albert Museum. MSS Box III 86. KK. Letter from Hugh Williams to Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, dated 16th November 1828.
- 108 National Library of Scotland: MSS 8870(2) Journal of Jessie Harden, p. 315 (pencilled pagination), Sunday 4th August 1805. See also FOSKETT, Daphne: John Harden of Brathay Hall 1772-1847 Kendal [1974], pp. 24, 39.
- 109 Op. Cit. HARDEN MSS, Tuesday, 11th December 1810, p. 602.
- 110 Op. Cit. (Foskett), Pl. XIV, 50.
- 111 Christies, London, 17th April 1973, Lot. 140; Figures and Cattle by a Lake and 17th December 1974, Lot. 71; Figures by a Ruined Church. It is important to realise that these works may represent a joint effort by Williams and William Douglas the Miniature Painter whose speciality was full length figures in a landscape setting.
- 112 Reproduced in BASEVI, W. H. F.: 'The Grand Tour of an Architect' in The Architect [1922]. Part I, 7th July, pp. 5-6; Part II, 21st July, pp. 43-44; Part III, 28th July, pp. 70-71; Part IV, 18th August, pp. 117-8; Part V, pp. 156-57.
- 113 The Scotsman. 22nd January 1801.

- 114 SIMOND, Louis: Journal of a Tour and Residence in Great Britain during the years 1810 and 1811 Edinburgh [1815] Vol. II pp. 47, 305. Re-printed Paris [1817].
- 115 TAIT, C. B.: Catalogue of the Sketches, Drawings, Prints and Pictures Edinburgh, 7th February 1831. Lot 474, Seven etchings after Ostade and Lot 476, Three etchings.
- 116 FRASER, Sir William: The Lords Elphinstone of Elphinstone Edinburgh [1897]. Two Vols. Vol. I, p.274, Vol. II, p.91.
- 117 TICKNOR, G.: The Life, Letters and Journals of George Ticknor London [1876], p.229.
- 118 STUART, Dorothy Margaret: Dearest Bess. The Life and Times of Lady Elizabeth Foster London [1955], p.187. According to a reference in The Scotsman, 10th October 1818, p.326(b), the Count purchased shares in the capital of the Bank of Scotland, in order to obtain the privileges of naturalisation.
- 119 National Register of Archives (Scotland), MSS 14810, Stirling of Garden Papers, Bundle 188. Letters from Hugh Williams to the Rev. William MacGregor Stirling.
- 120 Op. Cit. Letter from same to same, dated 11th March 1816.
- 121 Op. Cit. Letter from same to same, dated (postmark) 5th October 1815.
- 122 National Library of Scotland. Mss Letter from Archibald Constable to Hugh Williams, dated October 1817.
- 123 Op. Cit., Stirling of Garden Papers. Letter from same to same, dated 3rd October 1815.
- 124 Op. Cit. HARDEN MSS 8870(2), p. 586-7, Thursday, 12th April 1810.
- 125 The sequence runs; Gavin Hamilton [1724-1798] from 1770; David Allan, from 1771; Alexander Runciman and Catherine Read from 1773; Richard Cooper jun. from 1778; David Martin [1737-1798] from 1779; John Graham [1754-1817] from 1780 and Jacob More from 1783. Henry Raeburn exhibited along with Williams from 1792 and George Heriot in 1797.
- 126 MILES, Hamish: 'John Graham and the Trustees Academy' in Scottish Arts Review Vol. 14, No. 4. Part 1, pp. 17-20, 29-30. Glasgow [1975] and Part 2, Vol. 15, No. 1. pp. 19-23. Glasgow [1977]. This ref. No. 2, p. 19.
- 127 GORDON, Esme: The Royal Scottish Academy of Painting Sculpture and Architecture 1826-1976 Edinburgh [1976] pp. 4-5. This group is also referred to as a 'Society of Scottish Artists' by U. F., an anonymous reviewer in 1815. See Scots Magazine Vol. LXXVII, June [1815] p. 412.
- 128 See CLAY, Rotha Mary: Julius Caesar Ibbetson (1759-1817) London [1948] p. 91. The correspondence is untraced and is referred to by Clay as in the family records, but it is not clear if this is the Ibbetson family.
- 129 Book of the Old Edinburgh Club Vol. 14, p. 90.
- 130 The artists proposed building an exhibition room in 1809 but after difficulties with a builder, decided to hire Raeburn's lower rooms on a ten year contract at £100 pa. for two months of the year. They had the rooms redecorated - '**...the Society should be accommodated with the lower room on the right of the passage for exhibiting the water colour drawings etc., and that he would paint in a size colour, both rooms...**'. In my own research scrapes in the rooms in question, during drastic alterations in 1989, I found that the earliest colour applied directly to the plaster in the front room was a soft olive green (composed, when examined with a microscope, of crushed lapis lazuli and a yellow substance resembling amber). The back room had been red in various shades of paint and paper, for a considerable period, including the earliest, laid on the plaster. In 1811 a '**new green cloth**' was proposed for the exhibition room and the corners of the room screened off to create an octagon. This must refer to the large room as the smaller one facing the street would have been greatly reduced in size by such an operation. The work, by '**Mr. Steele**' may not have been carried out until 1812.
- 131 Glasgow Courier Vol. III, No. 407, 5th April 1794, p. 3(c).
- 132 See MILES, Hamish: 'Early Exhibitions in Glasgow' in Scottish Arts Review Vol. 8, No. 3, pp. 26-30 and No. 4, pp. 26-9 Glasgow [1962].
- 133 The best summary of the growth of Water-colour Societies in London, is to be found in HARDIE, Martin Water-colour Painting in Britain London [1967] 2nd edition, Vol. II, The Romantic period, Chap. VII, pp. 111-123.
- 134 Andrew Robertson MA [1777-1845], the miniature painter, was Secretary, W. J. Thomson RSA [1773-1845] also a miniature painter and Andrew Wilson [1780-1848], a landscape

- painter and dealer, were also there. On the 6th December 1807, Williams wrote to the Secretary recommending Mr. D. Thomson, another Scot for membership.
- 135 Op. Cit. HARDIE [1967] 2nd Edition. Vol. III, p. 116.
- 136 It would be interesting to know if William Westall began his training in Scotland. His first recorded work is a drawing of Kelso Church, made when he was fourteen and only a year after his father's death in 1794. See, WESTELL, Richard J.: 'The Westell Brothers' in Turner Studies Vol. 4, No. 1. London [1984] pp. 22-38.
- 137 Victoria and Albert Museum. MSS. 88. AA. 18. Letter from Hugh Williams to D. Robertson dated 29th February 1808.
- 138 Peter De Wint's family originated in Holland and before his marriage, his father returned to Europe from the United States, to study medicine at Leyden. His mother, Elizabeth Watson, was Scottish. See SMITH, Hammond: Peter De Wint 1784-1849. London [1982] p. 6.
- 139 Victoria and Albert Museum. MSS 86.AA.18. Williams wrote on 1st April listing the pictures he had sent by sea on the 25th March. The measurements, in inches, including the frames were: five @ 40" x 34", one @ 51" x 46", one @ 43" x 33", three @ 29" x 24", one @ 24" x 18" and three @ 16.5" x 13". He exhibited 15 pictures, which suggests that he may have found time to finish and take to London '**one of my largest and best drawings [which] could not be finished**'.
- 140 Op. Cit. HARDIE [1967] p. 230 Footnote.
- 141 Scots Magazine, September 1809 pp. 674-67, October, pp. 729-32.
- 142 Edinburgh Evening Courant No. 15,448, 19th April 1810, p. 3(c). Review continued on 30th April, p. 3(d); 7th May, p. 3(c); 17th May, p. 3(c) and 19th May, p. 3(d).
- 143 Scots Magazine September 1815 p. 674-5.
- 144 Scottish Record Office (West). National Register of Archives (Scotland). 14810, Stirling of Garden Papers, Bundle 188. Letters from Hugh William Williams (23 Duke Street, Edinburgh) to Rev William MacGregor Stirling. Letter dated May 1815.
- 145 Scots Magazine March [1815] pp. 180-2 and April pp. 257-60.
- 146 Edinburgh Evening Courant 26th April 1810 p. 3(c).
- 147 Caledonian Mercury, 13th April 1811. p. 3.
- 148 No published proposals in the press could be found. The note may refer to a flyer which came with the catalogue.
- 149 Royal Scottish Academy, Library. MSS. Book of Minutes of the Associated Artists 1808-1814. Meeting of 23rd March 1811.
- 150 WILLIAMS, H. W.: Catalogue of Views in Greece, Italy, Sicily and the Ionian Islands. (4to.) Edinburgh [1822]. 2nd Edition. A 1st Edition must exist but I have not yet seen this in any collection. The Mitchell Library in Glasgow has another version of this Catalogue with MSS. Title Page and pages 7-18. Pages 3-6 are off-prints of the Second Edition with proof(?) corrections and an altered numbering sequence. No's. 1-3 remain the same, No. 8 is noted '4'; No. 9, '5'; No. 11, '6' and No. 13 '7'. There are also MSS additions by I. W. O. Niven giving a note of the ownership of several of the exhibits.
- 151 Catalogue of Views in Greece, Italy, Sicily, the Ionian Islands, etc. etc. Painted in Watercolours by Hugh William Williams. Edinburgh [1826].
- 152 The exhibition opened on the 1st February 1822. Reviews appeared in: Edinburgh Evening Courant No. 17,276, 23rd March 1822, p. 1(b) and 6th April, p. 3(c). Edinburgh Weekly Journal. 6th February 1822.
- 153 Edinburgh Evening Courant. 23rd March 1822.
- 154 West Register House: Board of Manufactures and National Galleries of Scotland letter Books. NG1/3, p. 287ff.
- 155 Op. Cit. NG3/4/32/1. The artists made a very flexible use of the term 'Associated'. No recorded meetings or exhibitions of the Associated Artists of Edinburgh occurred after 1813 and indeed, not all of the artists who signed the letter had been members of that group. Yet there are surviving Minutes for a meeting of the 'Associated Artists of the Institution' which suggest that they met in 1825. See NG/3/4/32.
- 156 GORDON [1976] p. 45. See also COCKBURN, Henry: Memorials of his Time Edinburgh [1856] p. 462-3.
- 157 Scots Magazine Vol. LXXIV, May [1812] p. 356.
- 158 The Post Office Annual Directory 1811-1812, Edinburgh [1812].

- 159 National Register of Archives (Scotland). 14810, Stirling of Garden Papers, Bundle 188. Letter from Hugh William Williams (23 Duke Street, Edinburgh) to Rev William MacGregor Stirling, dated 26th January 1816.
- 160 Ibid. Letters from same to same, [11?]th March and 26th March 1816.
- 161 Friends of influential people often made use of their frank to send letters free of charge. As an M. P. Douglas would have had a frank and the term, in this context, simply means that Douglas is to pay for the trip.
- 162 Douglas had decided to travel to the continent earlier than this (May 1816). In a letter from 70 Queen Street, Edinburgh, dated January 1816 he says that he is **'occupied preparing for my journey'** National Library of Scotland, MSS. 681, f326-7.
- 163 Aeneas Macbean, WS was one of the artist's Trustees and he owned many of the originals for the engravings in the Select Views in Greece. (See NISBET. T. [Sale] Catalogue... of the valuable and interesting collection of Drawings in Watercolours by H. W. Williams. . . Edinburgh. 16th January 1858.) His name also appears in the final account, settled by Messrs. Longman Rees & Co. , in June 1840, regarding their publication of the Select Views in Greece. (Reading University Library. Accounts of Longman Rees & Co. Payment of £407. 0. 3, dated 23rd June 1840.) He did not own the flat in Queen Street, but rented it from 1811 (Post Office Directory). It was owned, from the 29th June 1819 by John Hay. Planner, he having purchased it from the Factors of Thomas Dundas, Captain in the East India Company, and others. (Scottish Record Office (East). Register of Sasines, 22878, 30th June 1819. PR 857. 53. Aeneas Macbean would have been an influential advisor as his name appears regularly among the papers of the Scottish nobility and he seems to have acted for Thomas, 7th Earl of Elgin [1766-1841].
- 164 The only other comparable situation in Edinburgh was that of Alexander Nasmyth, whose house at 47 York Place [a continuation of Queen Street to the West] had a belvedere on the roof, containing a painting room, to take advantage of the same view.
- 165 Exhibition Catalogue for the First Exhibition of Andrew Geddes, at Bruce's Great Room, Waterloo Place, 1821. Portrait of the late W. Douglas Esq. of Orchardton - the property of W. R. Robinson Esq. No. 57. [untraced]. [EPL, YND. 497. G29 in YND. 2880. [42339].
- 166 Williams may have met the Douglas family through Louis Ruffini as Sir William Douglas made his fortune in the West coast spinning and weaving trade and he was involved with David Dale.
- 167 TROTTER, Alexander: East Galloway Sketches Castle Douglas [1901]. States that the remarkable mausoleum at Kelton Kirk, in which Sir William is buried, was designed by his nephew, William Douglas. Edinburgh Public Library, (Scottish Library). XDA. 3774. [25783].
- 168 Douglas is not recorded in the PREVETE-ORTON, C. W., Index to Tripos Lists 1748-1910. Cambridge [1923]. This would suggest that he was a Fellow Commoner, at Trinity and did not study at the University. It was quite common for the wealthy or the sons of the wealthy to live in and dine at Colleges, leaving substantial gifts or donations when they found a career.
- 169 Edinburgh Advertiser. 19-22nd May 1807.
- 170 Edinburgh Advertiser. 14th January 1812.
- 171 Edinburgh Evening Courant. No. 15847, p. 3(d), 7th January 1813. **'was returned member for Plympton, in room of Viscount Castlereagh, who, having been elected for that burgh and for the County of Down, made the choice of the latter.'** See also, Edinburgh Evening Courant. No. 15849, p. 4(d), 11th January 1813. Douglas gave £20 to the Provost of Dumfries for the benefit of the poor.
- 172 See, THORNE, R. G. . The History of Parliament - The House of Commons 1790-1820. London [1986] Vol. III, p. 613-4.
- 173 National Library of Scotland. MSS. 8870(2) Journal of Jessie Harden, 4th January 1810.
- 174 HISTORICAL COMPANY: Prominent Families of New York New York [1898] Second Edition, p. 188.
- 175 Scottish Record Office (East). RD5/Vol. 199, f. 290. Testament of James Douglas of Orchardton. Recorded, 30th March 1821.
- 176 British Library, Add MSS 38257, f. 90-92. Letter from Sir James Douglas to Lord Liverpool, dated 11th April 1814. Sir James states that Williams Douglas was heir to an estate of better than eight thousand a year.

- 177 Edinburgh University Library. MSS. Dc. 5. 113. A group of nine letters bound as a journal.
See Bibliography for a breakdown of constituent letters
- 178 In the Preface to the *Travels*, p. XII, Williams states that he took some of the material from the journal of Mr. D [William Douglas] and this is indeed the case. However he refers specifically to a description of the Ionian Islands, which does not form part of the Douglas manuscript material in the Edinburgh University Library.
- 179 Ibid. MSS. Dc. 5. 113, f. 26r and other references.
- 180 Ibid. WILLIAMS [1820] Vol. II, Letter LXXVI. p. 416. It has been suggested in a private letter from Mr. E. J. Finopoulos, Athens, that Douglas may have caught Malaria on the tour as the pattern of an early illness followed by a relapse is typical of that condition. Malaria was apparently more likely to be the cause of death in the near east than the dreaded plague. They were in Florence by the 16th September 1817, in Rome from the 13th December 1817, leaving on 23rd March 1818.
- 181 *Gentleman's Magazine*. 1821, Part II, p. 93. Obituary notice. '**July 9. In London, William Douglas Esq. of Orchardton, late MP for Plympton**'. See also, Scottish Record Office (East). RD5/199/f. 311. Disposition, appointment of Trustees for William Douglas Esq. Recorded, 30th March 1821. Also, f. 328, appointment of Robert Abercromby jun. as Procurator and Attorney, December/January 1821-2.
- 182 Ibid. MSS. Dc. 5. 113. f7v-8r. Letter to James Douglas, dated Brussels, 11th June 1816.
- 183 Op. Cit. WILLIAMS [1820] Vol. I, Letter III, p. 15.
- 184 A drawing in pencil, pen and ink, in the De la Hanty Album. For an explanation of this album see Chapter 2, p. 157 and 159.
- 185 Ibid. MSS. Dc. 5. 113, f. 24r. '**We passed at Baden Saturday and Sunday the 27th and 28th.**' While in Baden Douglas met '**Mr. Taylor, our Minister at the Court of Stuttgart. I am to have the benefit of his good offices as I return thro the capital of the King of Wurtembourg**' (f. 25r.) There are drawings in the De la Hanty album of Ulm, Frankfurt and Dusseldorf which suggests a return journey through Stuttgart.
- 186 Ibid. MSS. Dc. 5. 113, f. 29r 36v. Journal of William Douglas of Orchardton. Letter from William Douglas to his father dated Friday, 8th August 1816.
- 187 Ibid. MSS. Dc. 5. 113, f. 58r.
- 188 Ibid. MSS. Dc. 5. 113, f. 84v. Letter to James Douglas, undated. '**Early in the Spring I expect to see Dr. McGuffay at Constantinople**' See also Edinburgh University Library. Index to Medical Matriculations. Samuel McGuffay MD, Galloway. 1828-9. Possibly the same as Samuel McGuffog 1804-5.
- 189 Ibid. MSS. Dc. 5. 113, f. 51r.
- 190 Ibid. MSS. Dc. 5. 113, f. 51r.
- 191 Ibid. MSS. Dc. 5. 113, f. 66r. Letter to Sir James Shaw, dated Florence September 1816. Posted Leghorn, 26th September 1816.
- 192 Op. Cit. WILLIAMS [1820] Vol. I, Letter XV. p. 180-3.
- 193 Ibid. MSS. Dc. 5. 113, f. 100v. '**We are now in Rome. - A journey from Florence in Nov. is sufficiently uncomfortable.**'
- 194 The Palazzo Falconieri was the home of Laetitia Ramolino [1750-1836], Napoleon's mother [known as Madame Mère]. It was also the home of Cardinal Fesch, Napoleon's uncle, and contained his important collection of paintings and furniture. Williams describes the pictures, which were later bought by the Duke of Wellington, in his *Travels in Italy Greece and the Ionian Islands*. [Vol. II, p. 30-61.] Ian Gow has discovered that some of the gilt stools belonging to the Erskine of Torrie family and now at Dunimarle House, came from the Fesch Collection. There is a drawing by Williams in the National Galleries of Scotland [DNG 362] inscribed '**near Dunimarle on the Firth of Forth**'. (Cat. No. W. 119)
- 195 Ibid. MSS. Dc. 5. 113, f. 101v.
- 196 BASEVI, W. H. F. : 'The Grand Tour of an Architect' in *The Architect* [1922]. Part I, 7th July, pp. 5-6; Part II, 21st July, pp. 43-44; Part III, 28th July, pp. 70-71; Part IV, 18th August, pp. 117-8; Part V, pp. 156-57. Illustrations, black and white.
- 197 See THOMSON, Oliver: *Drum Castle*. Edinburgh [National Trust for Scotland] [1986] *Self Portrait*, [Illus.], p. 8 and *The Archangel Gabriel*, p. 20-21.
- 198 A work by Hugh Irvine, *View of the Chapel of St. Bernard, under the Convent of St. Cosimato, near Tivoli* was exhibited at the RIEFAS in 1827, No. 58.

- 199 Soane Museum MSS. Letter from George Basevi to Adelaide Basevi dated 26th November 1816.
- 200 STUART, Dorothy Margaret: Dearest Bess. The Life and Times of Lady Elizabeth Foster, afterwards Duchess of Devonshire. London [1955].
- 201 VIRGIL: Aeneid, Trans. CARO, Annibal. Rome [1819]. Other artists included: J. W. Gell, Eastlake, Dodwell and a group of Italian artists. One engraving, (Vol. II, following p. 104) is a reconstruction of the Forum, apparently drawn by the Duchess herself but also inscribed '**Antico Foro Romano di C. R. Cockerell Designato. e Inciso da Gio Balzar**'. See also, NAGLER, Kaspar: Algemeines Künstler Lexikon. Leipzig [1924]. Nagler is the only biographer to notice that Williams may have contributed to this translation of the Aeneid.
- 202 Ibid. STUART [1955] p. 220-1. The Duchess of Devonshire appears to have left Rome at the same time for the same destination and although there were a number of people in the group which set off from Naples for Otranto on the 15th February, it is not known if Williams and the Duchess travelled together on this first leg of the journey.
- 203 Ibid. MSS. Dc. 5. 113, f. 106v. Douglas notes that the roads were so bad that it was occasionally easier to walk - and faster! '**Mr Lander, a very intelligent merchant of Malta was of our party + he + I arrived at Manopoli nearly two hours before the carriage**'
- 204 Ibid. MSS. Dc. 5. 113, f. 110v.
- 205 Ibid. MSS. Dc. 5. 113, f. 110r-v.
- 206 Maitland was still, at this stage, accommodated in the old Venetian Palace while making strenuous efforts to have something more suited to his ambitions. According to YOUNG, Martin: Corfu and the Other Ionian Islands. London [1973] p. 150, and other sources, the Venetian Palace was destroyed in two powder magazine explosions in 1718 and 1789. In fact the Palace must have been re-built because it is clearly visible in topographical prints of the period and still exists today, although, as a military establishment, exploration is prevented. This building is not to be confused with the new palace, built by Sir Thomas, the foundation stone having been laid on 23rd April 1819. See KYRIAKI, Vasiliki: 'The Palace of St. Michael and St. George, Corfu'. Unpublished History Seminar Paper, Dept. of Architecture, Heriot Watt University. [1983].
- 207 Ibid. WILLIAMS [1820] Vol. II, Letter LI, p. 203.
- 208 Ibid. WILLIAMS [1820] Vol. II, Letter LI, p. 207-7. Drawings made in Patras probably formed the basis for the watercolour exhibited in 1822 (No. 19) and 1826 (No. 21) and which was engraved by William Miller in 1826 for Part 6 of the Select Views in Greece. The watercolour of Patras now in the Benaki Museum, Athens; attributed to Hugh Williams by Fani Maria Tsigakou in The Rediscovery of Greece. London [1983], is certainly not by Williams.
- 209 Ibid. WILLIAMS [1820] Vol. II, p. 230.
- 210 Ibid. WILLIAMS [1820] Vol. II, p. 243.
- 211 Public Record Office. MSS. CO. 136/297 and 298. Anonymous Journal of Travels in the Mediterranean. Internal evidence suggests that the gentleman was Secretary to Sir Thomas Maitland, Governor of Malta and the Ionian Empire.
- 212 The letters Williams wrote from Athens and published as volume two of his Travels in Italy, Greece and the Ionian Islands (originals untraced), were addressed to the Edinburgh Musicologist, George Thomson [1757-1851]. See also; National Library of Scotland, MSS. 685, Letter of 24th November 1821. It is clear from this group of letters that Thomson, a regular publisher, depended on the services of Thomas Stothard for all his illustrative material. Williams's intervention is noted only once: when he advised on the re-engraving of some background landscape which he said looked '**lumpy**'.
- 213 Williams calls the Consulina Theodora but other sources say Teresa.
- 214 Op. Cit. WILLIAMS [1820] Volume II, p. 294.
- 215 Op. Cit. MSS. CO. 136/297, p. 118.
- 216 Op. Cit. MSS. CO. 136/297, p. 121a.
- 217 Op. Cit. WILLIAMS [1820] Vol. II, p. 376.
- 218 Op. Cit. WILLIAMS [1820] Vol. II, p. 412.
- 219 Soane Museum MSS. Letters to Marian Basevi, dated 29th November 1817 and to Adelaide, dated 13th December 1817.

- 220 Soane Museum MSS. Letter to Nathaniel Basevi, dated 10th January 1817. From the price mentioned it may be that these pictures were in fact uncoloured panoramic drawings. They are presently untraced.
- 221 Highland Society of Scotland, Ingleston: Minutes of the Meetings of the Society. Anniversary General Meeting, 19th January 1816 where Michael Linning WS proposed '**a Pillar, Triumphal Arch or some such architectural monument. . . in honour of the splendid victory of Waterloo**'.
- 222 CLEGHORN, George of Weems[?]: Remarks on the Intended Restoration of the Parthenon of Athens as the National Monument of Scotland Edinburgh [1824]. Edinburgh Public Library YDA. 2324 N27 [5910]. The collection, all YDA. 2324 N27 also includes an early list of subscribers [44299], which confirms Williams as a contributor of £25 '**on condition that the Parthenon of Athens is restored**'; A Report of the Proceedings of a . . . Meeting. . . with a View to the Erection of a National Monument Edinburgh [1819] [42286. 2]; Royal Association of Contributors. . . National Monument of Scotland Edinburgh [1822] [B34325], which lists Williams as a member of the Committee of Directors.
- 223 Journal of the Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland. [previously The Scottish Georgian Society.] GOW, Ian: 'C. R. Cockerell's Designs for the Northern Athenian Parthenon'. Edinburgh [1989], No. 16, p. 20-25. Gow also refers to an unpublished manuscript history by John Gifford.
- 224 Op. Cit. WATKIN, P. 151-3.
- 225 National Library of Scotland. MSS 638, f. 71r.
- 226 National Library of Scotland. MSS 638, f. 9r-10v.
- 227 Royal Incorporation of British Architects, Library. Coc/9/3 Vol. 2. (1822). On loan from the collection of Mrs. Crighton.
- 228 See WATKIN, David: The Life and Work of C. R. Cockerell. London [1974]. Cockerell wrote to his father from Venice on the 5th October 1816, ending with the comment - "**I have the advantage of an attached Friend's society, & in all probability we shall continue our journey to Rome together**". (P. 31.) There is no evidence to suggest that Williams and Douglas visited Venice but this may refer to them. It is interesting that Cockerell and Basevi at critical moments in their training, should have met Williams in Italy and then experienced doubts about architecture as a career. Both men in letters to their respective fathers, suggested that a career as an artist might be more suited to their temperaments. Both were firmly dissuaded. (p. 20-1 and 23-4.)
- 229 Op Cit. WATKIN [1974] Chapter VIII, p. 105ff and p. 110-12.
- 230 BUNYAN, I. T. and others: Building Stones of Edinburgh. Edinburgh [1987], p. 103. From my own measurements, the columns are 19' 5.75" in circumference at the base, centred at 14' 1.5", the drums vary from 2' 4" to 2' 8" high. The two corner blocks of the frieze are the largest stones, as they go beyond the centres of the end columns. These are approx. 14' 7" long. The largest blocks in the stylobate measure 14' 1.5" x 2' 6" x 1' 9.75" high. There is no evidence of variation in the height of the stylobate across the end of the structure, as at the Parthenon, but the columns do have entasis. The claims in the press at the time suggesting that these were the largest stones ever taken from the Craighleith Quarry, were not quite accurate. Again, from my own measurement, the four columns outside the Old College of the University measure 10' 1" in circumference at the base and are approx. 22' 6" high.
- 231 Williams may have been the source of the suggestion that the sub-structure of the Monument should incorporate catacombs, which could be sold as burial places for the rich and famous. This would accord well with his good commercial judgement that such a Monument, on the scale that he foresaw, would require more than just the planned reliance on subscriptions.
- 232 ANONYMOUS: 'On the Proposed National Monument at Edinburgh' in Blackwoods Magazine Vol. V, No. XXVIII July 1819, pp. 377-87.
- 233 AIKMAN, James: The Cenotaph. (A poem with an introduction) [1821]. '**My predilections are for a monument SCOTTISH - wholly SCOTTISH; and nothing but SCOTTISH**'(p. xx). Edinburgh Public Library YDA. 2324 N27 [43563].
- 234 'R' (ANONYMOUS): 'Restoration of the Parthenon as the National Monument' in Blackwoods Magazine Vol. V, No. XXIX August 1819, pp. 137-44.

- 235 Op. Cit. 'R' (anon) [1819] p. 510fn.
- 236 Ibid. p. 65. Same entry.
- 237 National Library of Scotland. MSS 639. This paper may be the one in question. It begins with a discussion of the placing of classical temples on an eminence, goes on to refer to the size of stones (p. 9), to the colouring of classical temples, to sculpture (p. 10) and to the inaccuracies of Stuart and Revett in their plan of the Parthenon in the Antiquities of Athens (p. 16).
- 238 Ibid. p. 65
- 239 Edinburgh Review, Vol. LXXV, February 1823, p. 143.
- 240 National Library of Scotland. MSS 638, f. 21v. Letter from Hugh Williams to C. R. Cockerell dated 29th December 1822.
- 241 London Literary Gazette. Saturday 17th July 1824, p. 460. Review.
- 242 Parthenon of Athens in its Present State and Parthenon of Athens Restored, engraved by William Miller, the latter from Cockerell's drawing, appeared in Part I (October 1823). Part of the Temple of Minerva, in the Acropolis of Athens, engraved by William Miller appeared in Part V (April 1826) and as a last effort to try and raise interest, Restoration of the Front of the Parthenon of Athens, engraved by John Horsburgh, again from a drawing by C. R. Cockerell, appeared in Part X (before February 1828).
- 243 Probably No. 7 The Remains of the Parthenon, or Temple of Minerva, at Athens. Williams wrote in the catalogue that this was the edifice proposed to be erected on the Calton Hill in Edinburgh, as the National Monument of Scotland.
- 244 Letter of Warren Hastings Anderson to John Stewart of Murthley Castle. Dated, St. Germain, 21st or 22nd Feb 1822. Scottish Record Office (East), GD121/Box 100/ Vol. XIX/99.
- 245 W. H. Playfair went for a short trip to France in 1816 and in 1842 he visited Florence for his health where he found 'little to admire and a great deal to shudder at'. See COLVIN, Howard: A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840 London [1978], p. 646.
- 246 HAMILTON, Thomas: Attestations referred to in a Letter to the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, from Thomas Hamilton, junior, Relative to his qualifications for fulfilling the Office of Superintendent of Public Works of the City of Edinburgh. Edinburgh [1819] p. 12. Letter from H. W. Williams to Thomas Hamilton dated 25th February 1819.
- 247 See ROCK, Joe: Thomas Hamilton, Architect 1784-1858, Edinburgh [1984] Williams is said to have decorated the interior of Falcon Hall, a house enlarged by Hamilton in 1823-5 for Alexander Falconer.
- 248 London Literary Gazette, 1st April 1826, p. 204. Review.
- 249 CLIFFORD J., McWILLIAM C. and WALKER D. Edinburgh (The Buildings of Scotland). Harmondsworth [1984] p. 406.
- 250 GRANT, James: Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh. Edinburgh [?1889], Vol. III, p. 71. He also states that it was constructed by Sir Henry Raeburn.
- 251 SCHINKELL, K. F.: Aus Stinker's Nicholas, ed. A. von WOLZOGEN, Berlin [1862-3] Four Volumes. Vol. III, pp. 86-89.
- 252 TAIT, C. B.: Catalogue of Sketches, Drawings, Prints and Pictures...by Hugh William Williams Edinburgh [1831] Lot 431 '**Large Unfinished Drawing of Athens, rich frame, the last work Mr. William ever touched**'. Presumably this remained unsold and was presented to the National Galleries of Scotland by Mrs. Williams in 1859.
- 253 National Library of Scotland: MSS. 638, particularly 133r -134v, Letter from W. H. Playfair to C. R. Cockerell, dated 30th June 1829.
- 254 Scottish Record Office (East): Registration of Marriage, 6851/63. p. 361.
- 255 HALSBY J. and HARRIS, Paul: The Dictionary of Scottish painters 1600-1960 Edinburgh [1990] p. 229.
- 256 Scottish Record Office (East): RD5. Vol. 391. f. 234.
- 257 Scottish Record Office (East): SC70/1/169. f. 1081.
- 258 Scottish Record Office (West): MSS. Minutes of the Board of Manufactures, 17th October and 7th November, 1859.
- 259 Edinburgh Weekly Journal 26th March 1826.
- 260 Personal letter from Sir Archibald Edmonstone of Duntreath.
- 261 Op. Cit. TAIT [1831] Preface.

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- 262 COLVIN, Howard: A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840 London [1978].
In the entry on W. H. Playfair, Colvin makes the error of thinking that all the watercolours sold belonged to the architect.
- 263 Scottish Record Office (West): MSS. NG 1/1/34 Minutes of the Board of Manufactures, p. 287.
- 264 National Library of Scotland: MSS. Dep. 175, Box 163 (1). Letter from Hugh Williams to Sir William Gordon Cumming, dated 6th January 1821.
- 265 National Library of Scotland: MSS. 638, 128r - 129v. Letter from Hugh Williams to C. R. Cockerell, dated (by postmark) 27th September 1828.
- 266 WRIGHT, Mr.: Open Competition...etc. Edinburgh [1836] [VAM].
- 267 Old Parish Registers for Edinburgh Canongate.
- 268 Edinburgh University Library (On deposit from John C. Brodie Cuthbertson): MSS Playfair letterbooks. Vol. II, p. 5. Letter from W. H. Playfair to Mrs. Williams dated 22nd July 1840 and p. 84, same to same, dated 13th January 1841. In July Playfair promised the designs by October 1840 and then in January 1841, pleading illness, he stated that the design was in progress and would not be left until he had finished it.
- 269 The Scotsman, 3rd August 1863, No. 2535, p. 2(c).

Chapter 2.

HUGH WILLIAMS AT WORK.

2:1 Introduction.

In this Chapter Hugh Williams' methods and techniques as an artist will be explored. This will be carried out under three headings - 2:3 Drawings, 2:4 Watercolours and 2:5, Oils. A preliminary section, 2:2, will explore the difficulties in discussing watercolours from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with particular reference to the work of Hugh Williams. This will look at (a), the critical language and terminology used to discuss watercolours, (b), the problems of fading and (c), the misunderstandings and distortions in the published accounts of the work of Williams. This section will to some extent enlarge on material noted in the Review of Literature, [pp. 23-4].

Hugh Williams used different styles and techniques, depending on the type of work in hand. These styles will be identified and discussed. The section on watercolours will be the largest, with a preliminary, detailed investigation of the artist's methods and techniques. The only works considered under this heading will be those to which colour or monochrome washes have been added. The section on drawings will consider only those works in executed in graphite, chalk or charcoal, and pen and ink, and which have no added colour or monochrome washes. The section on oil paintings will be brief, as this is the single largest gap in the known surviving output of Williams. Some attempt will be made to identify missing oil pictures, from exhibition catalogues and reviews. In all cases the work will be discussed in a chronological sequence, identifying the main stages in its development. Using specific examples, either in the attached catalogue of works in public collections or from illustrations of works in private hands, the typical characteristics of watercolours at these various stages will be identified.

2:2. *Difficulties in Discussing the Work.*

2:2.1. *Terminology.*

In 1877 Samuel Redgrave catalogued the works in his care in his Descriptive Catalogue of the Historical Collection of Watercolour Paintings in the South Kensington Museum and no study of any British watercolour painter can begin without considering the language of discussion formalised by Redgrave. In an effort to be scientific, he sought to lay down criteria for understanding the way in which the medium developed. He picked up terms from early Royal Academy catalogues such as '**tinted drawing**' [first mentioned in 1769] and used these to determine categories such as for example, the '**early tinted manner**'. In 1918 Redgrave was taken to task by Alexander J. Finberg in The Development of British Landscape Painting in Watercolours. Finberg criticised Redgrave's thesis that the watercolour medium developed in a scientific way, each new technique being an improvement on the last. Redgrave as head of the Museum and Keeper of the Queen's Pictures proved however to be very influential and his words echo through the entire published record. As Finberg pointed out, there is little wrong with a theory of technical development but this has nothing to do with the status of the work produced. Yet it is just such value judgements which have been used to create hierarchies in the discussion of the work of Hugh Williams - at times using exactly the same language used by Redgrave in 1877.

The most serious difficulty raised by Redgrave, and one which was not addressed by Finberg or any other author, is that there is no definition of the term '**tinted drawing**'. Many authors state that Williams was a worker in tinted drawing, implying that he was old fashioned, but McKay [1906], after stating this went on to suggest that Williams introduced the modern watercolour to Scotland. Clearly the work of Hugh Williams [and many other artists] has been marginalised by this lack of clarity. In reality watercolours changed and developed over such a long period that any attempt at rigid definitions is bound to fail. A clearer picture of Williams' technique will be presented in Chapter 2:4.

2:2.2. Terminology and Williams.

Misuse of terminology has tended to marginalise the importance of the work of Hugh Williams and this is borne out by the published literature. In addition, art historians have until recently played down the importance of Scottish artists, being too ready to compare them unfavourably with their English counterparts or suggest that all of the important influences have flowed from south to north. Hugh Williams has suffered from this bias, some of which is distinctly nationalistic. This is hardly surprising considering the way in which the British watercolour has been paraded, most recently by Andrew Wilton as '**an almost uniquely British phenomenon**'¹ There is no doubt that British artists developed the technique to a remarkable extent but to deny that Continental artists [and engravers in particular] had any influence on the medium, is to deny an important influence. One of the forces at work on Hugh Williams, persuading him of the need for delicacy and subtlety, would have been his guardian, the Italian embroiderer, Louis Ruffini.

There are many examples of nationally biased reporting on the work of Hugh Williams. William McKay [1906] noted that, '**what surprises one most in some of his [Williams'] Scotch drawings - that of *Glencoe* for instance, exhibited in 1812 - is their modernness. Here the hill forms are broadly and boldly washed in the true colour of Nature, almost as they might have been by Cox or Bough**'.² David Cox [1809-1885] and Samuel Bough [1822-1878] were both English artists although Bough did work in Scotland. Sir James L. Caw, while Director of the National Gallery of Scotland, suggested that Williams handled '**his medium with a force and fullness that reminds one of De Wint or David Cox**'.³ John Tonge [1938]⁴, also noted that Hugh Williams was '**born in the same year as Girtin, but only very occasionally painting with the depth and power of which his medium was capable**'. This last represents a subtle use of language, inferring that Williams was in some way not of equal stature to Girtin. Some of the more general put-downs are simply ill informed, such as Brydall's footnote to the effect that Williams' Scottish views were '**much inferior [in] execution and colour to those [Greek Views] described**'⁵ and Caw's comment

that Williams *joined* the Associated Artists in London.⁶ This was repeated by Hardie in 1967⁷ noting that Williams was *elected* to the group when in fact, he was a *founding member* in 1808 [my italics]. The main difficulty with all of these comments, whether subtle or simply incorrect, is that they have been repeated and built upon by later writers.

The major stumbling block to an understanding of Williams' work is the often repeated criticism of his colouring. John Gage [1969] recognised the problems of discussing colour and identified some of the reasons:

The general problem of treating colour in the history of painting is aggravated by the lack of a developed language of analysis, and a method based dominantly on the black and white photograph.⁸

In fact almost all of the publications on watercolour until the most recent - The Great Age of British Watercolours [1994] and The Watercolours of Ireland [1994], were illustrated in black and white and these two publications were not concerned with a discussion of colour. Not one of the publications which is critical of the use of colour by Hugh Williams is illustrated in colour.

The criticism of colour developed very early in Hugh Williams' career and this is a subject which will be discussed later in relation to his use of blues. For the present it is instructive to note the published language on the artist's colour, and how it became confused with Redgrave's use of the term 'tinted drawing'.

The first example of appeared in 1797 when the artist had only been working for some six years:

Now, WILLIAMS, skilful lad, I'll praife thee much,
On rocks and trees, I like thy charming touch:
If I speak truth, I can't from praife refrain,
Lord, I could praife thee o'er and o'er again.
Oh! keep to nature, all her ways pursue;
I fometimes find thy colouring rather blue;
But I admire thy taste, and happy touch,
Which is not labour'd o'er and o'er too much,
But shews at once thy head and hand inclin'd;
The head to guide, the hand to shew thy mind;...⁹

The memory of this particular failing had not diminished by 1822 when the Scots Magazine review of his one-man exhibition of that year, reminded readers of '**the imperfections in colouring which his early residence in this northern climate occasioned**

[and which] **has now been removed by the study of the enchanting glow and brilliant skies of Italy and Greece**'.¹⁰ A large portion of this review, including the criticism, was reprinted verbatim by Robert Brydall in 1889.¹¹

Robert Gibb in writing the 35th Edition of the Catalogue of the National Gallery of Scotland Edinburgh [1899] described two works by Williams in the collection at the Mound as tinted drawings; The Temple of Vesta, Rome (Cat. No. W. 99) and The Temple of Fortuna Virilis, Rome (No. W. 98). This definition, picking up on Redgrave [1877] and the repeated negative comments on colour, became the starting point for a misunderstanding in critical discussion, which grew larger in the telling. William D. McKay [1906], claimed that Hugh Williams '**may almost be said to have introduced the practice of watercolour north of the Tweed - the earlier tinted drawings can hardly be considered such**'. Presumably he meant all earlier tinted drawing and not earlier works by Williams, but James L. Caw [1908] building on this lack of clarity and fully in the Redgrave mould, suggested that Williams '**may be said to have been a worker in tinted drawing rather than a watercolour painter in the modern sense**'.¹² Martin Hardie [1967] in his brief summary stated that Williams' work, '**was executed as a rule, particularly in his earlier days, with tinted washes confined to brown, grey and blue**'¹³ and John Tonge [1938] also mentioned tinted drawings; '**he worked in transparent washes over an accurately and sensitively pencilled outline, and most of his works are tinted drawings with limited colour harmonies...**'.¹⁴

The confusion over tinted drawings and the criticisms of colouring have been compounded in the most recent texts. Caw [1908] in a clear reference to his colouring stated that Williams was '**a disciple of the classic convention and a believer in an ordered aspect of result**' and yet Halsby [1986] took almost the opposite view, stating that '**Williams' earlier watercolours often have a rococo sense of colour**'.

2:2.3. *Fading.*

Even if there were an agreed language for the criticism of the medium, watercolours invariably fade and a level of distortion creeps into published comment, related directly to the

number of years after their execution works are examined by the critic. In the discussion of the work of Hugh Williams the distortion caused by fading is a serious one, because the largest and most important group of his works [the gift of his widow Robina Miller] hung continuously in the National Gallery of Scotland from its opening in 1859 until 1912. In that year the 27 exhibited works were reduced to 14 which then hung until 1924 when a further reduction, to 6, was made. Some works, such as the popular Temple of Poseidon, Cape Sunion (Cat. No. W. 128), hung continuously for at least 100 years. Previous to their exposure in the Gallery most of the group had been exhibited from 1822 and had hung in the artist's house.¹⁵ The collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum, presented mainly in the Nineteenth century, suffered a similar fate, some forming part of the 'Circulation' collection and hung for long periods outside the Museum.

The criticism of colouring noted earlier continued into the twentieth century but became exacerbated by the problems of fading. Iolo Williams [1952] noted that **'his colour, when it attempts a wider range, is apt to lapse into rather unpleasant blue-greens and hot passages of high light in brownish red and yellow'**.¹⁶ This is a surprising comment for a writer with extensive experience of handling watercolours, and many people today would recognise the description as that of a badly faded watercolour. Clearly it represents the lack of a broad knowledge of the work of Hugh Williams.

In many of his works, from scenes in the Highlands early in his career, to his large exhibition watercolours of Greek views, Williams used a final yellow wash, which covered the entire picture area or occasionally left out the most important highlight. This can be seen in Dunira [PC], painted in 1804 (Figure 2:1) and in many of the Greek views such as Crissa on Parnassus [c.1825, PC](Figure 2:2). In a watercolour in fine condition, this yellow was finely balanced with blues and reds. However, as Williams used Indigo from at least 1811, [see Chapter 2:4.2] and this is known to fade rapidly, then the watercolour could be left with a very 'hot', yellow/orange appearance. The effect is common in all watercolours which have faded badly but is reinforced in watercolours by Williams because of his regular use of a final yellow wash.

This is most obvious in the watercolour, The Temple of Poseidon, Cape Sunion. (Colour Plate I, following page). This work was commissioned by the Royal Institution in Edinburgh in 1828, shown in their exhibition of that year (No.49) and as has been observed, was hung by them and the National Gallery of Scotland almost continuously until the 1960's. As the largest and most romantic of the artist's compositions it is the picture most borrowed for exhibition, most photographed and most published, so that by now it is a classic example of a faded watercolour.¹⁷

This then, is the picture on which Martin Hardie [giving an alternative title for the work]¹⁸ based a further, serious and unjust criticism:

His conception of drawings made for purposes of engraving led him to use colour in an almost monotonic scheme or with an attenuated thinness inadequate to the scale on which he painted several of his pictures. His Temple of Minerva Sunais is of unusually large size, 50x30 inches.¹⁹

With all these considerations of critical language, misunderstandings about colour and problems with fading in mind, an analysis of the artist's techniques must be undertaken with some caution but this is the intention of the remainder of this Chapter.



Colour Plate I. WILLIAMS, H. W.: Watercolour, The Temple of Poseidon, Cape

Sunion c.1828, NGS] following p. 126.

2:3. *Watercolours.*

2:3.1 *Introduction.*

Hugh Williams was a prolific artist and more than six hundred works have been studied at first hand since this research began. The watercolours - that is, works which have any additional tonality applied over the drawing - may be divided into two groups, works which are coloured and those which are embellished with sepia or other monochrome washes. Williams produced both throughout his career, the small monochrome watercolours mainly for the plate maker and larger watercolours in both colour and sepia, for display. There are many examples of these smaller works and they can be found cross referenced in the attached 'Catalogue of All the Known Prints'. The most notable private collection of the larger works, in both monochrome and colour, can be seen - most still in their original 18th century frames and glazing - at Drumlanrig Castle. Fully coloured works make up the largest part of the artist's output, followed by those in monochrome.

All these works will be considered in this section, after a preliminary discussion of the artist's basic technique. They may be conveniently considered in four periods - Early - works painted between 1792 and 1800; Transitional - works made between 1800 and the artist's Grand Tour in 1816; works made on the Grand Tour itself and lastly, Exhibition Watercolours - made after the tour and before the artist's death in 1829. Where possible, works to be discussed will taken from the attached 'Catalogue of Works in Public Collections' or illustrated, if they are from private collections.

2:3.2. *Methods.*

On the 5th November 1811 Sir Thomas Dick Lauder copied a manuscript, 'Method of drawing in Watercolours as Practised by Mr. Williams', the original document apparently signed by the artist and dated 17th June 1811.²⁰ The purpose of the original is unclear, unless Williams intended publishing his own manual. This Method is reprinted here with numbered lines so that it can be discussed in some detail.

In preparing to draw in water colours it is proper to stretch the paper on a board, which is conveniently done in the following manner. The side to be placed next to the board must be completely damped with a wet sponge in such a manner that the paper may lie flat. You then cover about half an inch round the damped side of the paper with paste, next turn that side to the board and with a cloth press the pasted part down, taking care not to stretch the paper in any direction if it can possibly be avoided. You then damp the upper side of the paper all except the part which has the paste underneath...

Outline.

It is of advantage in beginning an outline to sketch lightly the general forms of the subject; the next thing to be done is to descend to particulars, giving every object its proper character. Marking the distances with a fainter line than should be used to express the middle ground, and the middle ground with a fainter line than the foreground, and it is also an advantage to make the lines stronger towards the darkened side of the objects, it being of considerable assistance in shading, although, when the outline is done with the black lead pencil it is of no consequence to the effect, because when the drawing is finished such an outline becomes imperceptible.

Of Shading.

It may be presumed that the shading now to be explained is adapted for colouring alone. The aerial hue may be obtained by mixing together Lake, Indigo and Gamboge, or in other words, Red, Blue and Yellow and, according to the time of day to be represented, the Yellow, Red or Blue should predominate it. With the aerial tint the distances may be done, but as the objects advance towards the eye, it will be necessary to reduce the effect of air. Indian Ink is well adapted for this purpose and should be introduced in just proportion as they approach, otherwise the harmony of the aerial perspective will be destroyed, as the effect of air upon the foreground is in general scarcely to be perceived, it may be done with Indian Ink with the introduction of a little umber in it. In applying the brush you first lay in the great shades carefully preserving your lights and determining the general effects. This being done you shade every object in each ground with the exact tint with which you laid in the general shade. It may be proper to add that one shade should be completely dry before another is laid on, otherwise they will run into each other and produce confusion; and that in using a full brush, which except in a few particular cases ought always to be done, care should be taken not to overload it, as the neglect of this rule introduces harsh edges. When the effect of light and shade is produced, you then begin to paint the sky.

Of the Sky.

In order to allow sufficient time to manage the sky, it will be necessary to damp the paper which may be done with a sponge; but after this operation, there is generally a quantity of superfluous moisture left on the paper, it must be taken off by pressing on it a fine cloth, otherwise it would be impossible to shape the clouds properly, as the colour would run and have a very bad effect. The sky may be done with Prussian Blue, beginning at the top, farthest from whence the light proceeds, and gradually weaken it with water as you approach the horizon, but especially near the lightest part of the sky. The blue being laid in and perfectly dry you must next shade the clouds which may be done with aerial colour according to the distance. Upon the principle of shading the landscape - after the

50 sky is thus far advanced, you may find it necessary to soften it, or correct any unevenness in the Blue, this may be done with a sponge and water and at the same time if you think the distances or any part of the landscape are harsh, you may apply the sponge to it also; in sponging it is best to begin in the distance and go gradually upwards as

55 hastily as possible, gently rubbing all over the sky, taking care not to dwell on any particular part before you have given the whole a general softening - The influence of the sponge is very great, and when judiciously used, produces the most pleasing and most delicate effects. But if it is used to excess, a sky only intended to be slightly softened is often rendered spiritless and insipid. Mist may

60 be well represented by means of the sponge gently rubbing over part of the landscape pervaded by it, carefully washing the sponge at every application and the parts mostly obscured will require the most frequent application. It is hardly necessary to mention that, when mist prevails general forms are only discernible and that therefore particular shading should be avoided. If the mist be very partial

65 or if smoke or spray can be introduced it may be done after the drawing is shaded in the following manner which is preferable to preserving it in shading. Take a clean brush moistened with pure water, and shape the mist or smoke with it, allowing it to settle. When the water is nearly evaporated, or the paper in some degree absorbs the moisture, then rub it with a piece of stale bread which will

70 take off the colour, wholly or indistinctly according to the force with which the bread is applied, or the time the water was allowed to remain. Should the edges of the smoke [or] mist be a little harsh, it will then be necessary to have recourse to the brush again, very slightly moistened, applying it to the part to be softened, and gently use the head. Indeed it may be necessary to repeat this operation often

75 before these objects can be done with delicacy. When the sky and distance are harmonized, you may proceed to lay in a characteristic horizon hue, it may be of a yellow or red complexion, according to the time of day or effect to be expressed. If your shade or aerial colour be warm or partakes of a purple hue, Burnt Terra de Sienna may be used, but if it is inclined to a Bluish cast the paper may be left

80 white or slightly tinged with yellow. Upon whatever atmospheric colour the general hue is to be applied, it must be washed over the whole drawing, so that every object may partake of it. It should be most vivid at the lightest part of the sky, and gradually weaken with water in advancing from it in either direction, so that the top of the sky will be slightly tinged, while that at the horizon will have a

85 higher glow.

Local Colouring.

Begin with the middle part of the landscape where the effect of the impregnations of the air is not intended entirely to obscure the local colour of objects. If the distances be very remote they will be wholly enveloped in air and no effect of

90 colour will be perceivable on them. The colours for the distance must be fainter than those laid on any other part, and, to prevent heaviness, such colours should be used as are most transparent. On the middle grounds stronger tints may be used, and in greater variety, carefully preserving the harmony with the parts beyond it. In approaching the foreground, the variety may be extended, and the

95 strength and warmth of the colours increased, and this remark applies in its utmost latitude to the foreground itself. In the distance, and even in some degree in the middle ground, it will be sufficient to distinguish objects by giving each a tint expressive of its general hue. But on the foreground you must distinguish not only betwixt one object and another, but also between the different parts of the

100 same object. For example in a tree in the foreground, it may be necessary to characterise by colour the withered or decayed branches from those that are

healthy, the bark and the stains upon it, together with the parts which are stripped.

105 In like manner with regard to rocks in the same situation, you must represent their natural colour and the hues they may have received from external causes. The same attention must be paid to broken grounds and to various vegetation. In a word, character in colouring must be preserved with the same precision as in outlining and shading.

110 On the strength and variety of colouring required in the foreground the greatest care should be taken to make them harmonise not only with each other in that part, but likewise with the colouring of the whole drawing - great care should be taken not to make the colours too strong at first, because there is no good remedy to remove that defect.

There is a further method, which appears in a journal kept by the artist's close friend, the architect W. H. Playfair.²¹ It is simply headed 'H.W.W.' and is followed immediately by an account of a journey beginning on the 1st May 1811. It should be considered the work of Playfair and not another version of the Williams method, as it differs from that in a number of significant respects, most notably in its description of dead-colouring and in the use of green pigment. Playfair's account ends in a description of a specific picture, probably Ben Venue, from the Glen of the Trossacks, Loch Catherine in the distance [untraced], exhibited by Williams at the Associated Artists in Edinburgh between the 8th and 25th April, 1811.²² Playfair may have written his journal entry while standing in front of the picture.

The clearest feature of the Williams 'Method' is its concentration on the delicacy of the techniques he describes. Throughout, the emphasis is on faint or imperceptible lines [lines 12 and 18], on the avoidance of harsh edges [lines 37 and 72], or of delicate effects [line 92]. This corresponds exactly to his work, which is marked by its subtlety of execution.

Partly as a result of competition with oil painters and partly because high quality wove papers made it possible, watercolour artists in the eighteenth century became interested in recording optical effects, such as the way colours diminish and change over distances [aerial perspective]. This gave pictures a greater subtlety and colour became a dominant feature, covering almost the entire picture area. Older laid papers with their ribbed surface, caused by the wires used in their manufacture, did not have the whiteness or evenness of surface texture to allow this subtlety, and nowhere is this better expressed than in a letter from John Clerk of Eldin [1728-1812] to a lady in 1793:

it is most difficult to procure paper that will bear the repetition of washing of shade to make out the effect required...in general thick post paper (but not water woved) I believe to be the most easy to be wrought upon for neat small drawings.²³

An essential part of this sensitive approach was the use of faint pencil outline, mentioned more than once by Williams in his 'Method' [lines 10, 12, 17]. Ink outlines made the task of creating depth or distance in a watercolour difficult or impossible. However the effect of a hard line could be reduced by the alternative use of a pale grey ink, applied with a pen or a very fine brush. The subtlety attainable by this method can be seen in the series of watercolours painted by James Stevenson for the 1808 edition of Allan Ramsay's Gentle Shepherd, particularly Marfield Lint Mill from the South West [c.1807, PC](Figure 2:3). Nevertheless, the line remains clearly visible and creates an edge to the subject preventing the full exploitation of aerial perspective. This difficulty has already been discussed in relation to the watercolours by Alexander Nasmyth, who used this technique [p. 46]. As time progressed, the inked outline became less common and eventually was dispensed with entirely.

Some authors appear to have recommended the use of inked outlines as late as 1823, but it is interesting that by this date the technique was seen as not quite a professional practice, beginning the process of creating hierarchies noted at the beginning of this Chapter:

Beginners may, if they please, go over the outline with a hard pen or crow quill; which being done, the drawing will be ready for tinting.²⁴

There were no fixed boundaries between one usage and another and writers from as early as 1728²⁵ encouraged artists to employ a faint pencil outline only, or indeed, no line at all. Many artists retained the use of ink outlines for work which was to be engraved, and Williams did so in works such as A Fishing Port [NGS](Cat. No. W. 88). However, it is quite clear that the critical development in eighteenth century British watercolour practice was the change from pen and ink or brush outline, to the use of pencil alone. The decision to use faint pencil outline in a finished watercolour was not simply an improvement, as Samuel Redgrave [1877] believed - it represented a total shift in the way an artist saw landscape and tried to capture what was seen, on paper.

It is a further mark of Hugh Williams' commitment to subtlety of execution that he used wove papers throughout his life, from his very earliest works. He used laid papers rarely

- in very early drawings such as the one discussed in relation to his lessons with Alexander Nasmyth [pp. 57-8]; in the group at Perth Art Gallery (**Cat. No. D. 4**), or when other supplies were difficult to obtain - such as when he was in Greece (**Cat. Nos. D. 16-19**). Not only this, but from the infrequent appearance of watermarks in his works, Williams may have cut or trimmed papers so as to avoid any impression or mark which could interfere with the delicacy of his technique. This entire means of working compares with his contemporary James Stevenson, whose watercolours such as Marfield Lint Mill from the South West [PC], were executed on laid paper. The worked sheets were in turn laid down on a further sheet of laid paper so that the wire watermarks cross - presumably to add strength. By contrast Hugh Williams was totally committed to the subtlety of the finished image.

The significant difference between the 'Method' written by Williams and those in the published treatises on watercolour painting to be considered here, is what he does *not* say about his methods. These treatises almost invariably begin with a description of the method of applying a grey shadow tint to the pencil drawing. This method, known as dead-colouring, is repeated to the extent that they often use identical terminology - **'lay on first dead colours, all over your piece, leaving no part uncovered'**.²⁶

Skilfully, and without drawing attention to it in his 'Method', Williams skips over this, allowing his reader to assume that the dead colouring had been carried out. He begins his section on shading with the sentence; **'Of Shading. It may be presumed that the shading now to be explained is adapted for colouring alone'** [lines 20-2]. This is critical because Hugh Williams rarely if ever used grey dead-colouring and it is the absence of dead-colouring which is one of the most important aspects of his work. It is also interesting that he should have kept his personal method to himself. Hugh Williams' training and experience led him to a cleaner approach, without the dulling effect of grey under-painting. His personal method was more unusual and more direct, mixing the three primaries, red, blue and yellow to make a grey, but distorting the grey by increasing the amount of blue - for mornings, or the amount of yellow - for evenings.

The aerial hue may be obtained by mixing together Lake, Indigo and Gamboge, or in other words, Red, Blue and Yellow and, according to the effect of time of day to be represented, the Yellow, Red or Blue should predominate [lines 21-24].

It would be this clear approach to the use of the primary colours, based on his knowledge of colouring cloth, which would have a dramatic impact on the work of J. M. W. Turner, after his trip to Scotland in 1818. This will be discussed fully in Chapter 5.

Williams did state that he allowed his colours to dry between one application and the next [line 34], a method which is very rarely mentioned specifically in the published treatises on watercolour painting I have consulted, beginning in the seventeenth century. Only John Hassell, writing as late as 1823, even hinted that the work should be allowed to dry between colourings.

Richness and depth of colour is caused by adding tint upon tint; or multiplying touches upon tints instead of washing your colours every time you want harmony...an infinite deal of mellowness and interest will by these means be brought into your drawing.²⁷

The systematic method of laying yellow over a blue which had been allowed to dry completely, to create the illusion of green, is the most significant part of Williams' practice. Playfair refers to the mixing of Indigo, Gumboge and Burnt Sienna to create a light green, a method which is completely at odds with Williams' practice.

It is quite clear that the way an artist obtained green can be used as a means of determining their attitude to colour in general, and in the case of Williams, giving a clue to his artistic training. Green was achieved in one of two ways. Either, blue and yellow were mixed on the palette and the resulting colour applied to the paper. This is what Playfair suggests in his account and what published treatises imply, by not mentioning the intermediate drying process. This led to different shades as each batch was made up and artists who used this method were inclined to mix other colours in the same way, producing a range of intermediate colours. The effect in the hand of a skilled and confident artist could be exciting, as the large water-colours by Carlo Labruzzi [1765-1818] in the British Museum testify. On sheet 1955-12-10-10 (59) for example, he uses a number of hues - dark, light and yellow/green along with red and blue, over a very fluid sepia. In the late works of David Allan such as Moffat Mineral Well [NGS, on loan from the Trustees of Mrs. Magdalene Sharpe Erskine], considered earlier in Chapter 1:2, the effect is confused and lacking in harmony. He uses the standard dead colouring technique which means that all the shadows are grey. The texture of the distant hills

and much of the remainder is achieved with short strokes of the brush which gives an over-worked appearance. [In this case the composition too destroys the harmony. The large tree on the right grows out of the right edge and a group of figures walk out of the left side].

In the second method, blue colour was applied to the paper, allowed to dry and then covered by a wash of yellow, creating the illusion of green. This difficult technique was used by very few artists and the resulting effect was one of greater colour harmony. There are a number of water-colours by Thomas Jones [1743-1803], where it is clear that he used a version of this technique. In one, Tivoli [1777, YCBA, B1981.25.2638], the blue had been laid in for the trees but the yellow layer was omitted. This suggests that he waited until he was back in his rooms before applying the yellow layer and that on this occasion, he failed to do so. Jones did not however apply the method systematically in the way that Williams did, to colour the entire sheet. The technique is as old as watercolour practice itself and the watercolour View of the Arco [1495, Louvre, Paris] by Albrecht Dürer [1471-1528](**Figure 2: 4**), with its almost surreal powder blue trees, is another example. In this, seen only in reproduction, the process of adding yellow appears to have begun, but was not completed.²⁸ In the work of some artists, the effect of the overlay is very obvious and in many of the watercolours made in Rome by Jacob More [?1740-1793], the blue colour wash can be seen, extending beyond the edge of the yellow. Interestingly More may have had the same training as a pattern designer at the Trustees Academy as Williams did under David Allan.

The method of using the primary colours, red, blue and yellow is a product of a need for portability of materials [Dürer used it, for example, only on works painted on his return journey from Italy and for a short period afterwards]. However, in its refined form, used in the studio for large water-colours such as those by Williams and More, the technique also represents a desire to be restrained. The method probably fell out of favour as [it will be shown] artists found difficulty with the darkening of Prussian Blue or the fading of Indigo, which meant they could not depend on what they had painted remaining as they had seen it. This restrained method had the added advantage that it corresponded to the writings of Pliny the Elder and his explanation that classical artists used colours bound with water and limited in range. Pliny's descriptions were the most common starting point for published treatises on watercolour technique.²⁹ While Williams and other watercolour painters may have enjoyed the

idea that they were working in a classical mode, his reasons for doing so are more likely to have originated in his training as a pattern designer.

All of these associations are summarised in the watercolour - View of the Clyde from Dunotter [1797, PC](**Colour Plate II**, following page). In this, Williams used a delicate but precise pencil outline as a basis for the colour, which was layered on the paper in the most skilful way. The whole work, except the areas of maximum highlight were coloured blue [line 30]. Out of this, he lifted some colour, in the sky, to reveal the paper and create cloud effects [line 51]. Once dry, almost the entire surface of the work was covered with yellow, turning the areas of white paper into sunny highlights and anything blue into a subtle shade of dark or light green [line 80]. Some blue areas, such as the range of distant hills, received hardly any yellow and they remained, true to nature, as a blue grey. In the immediate foreground the palest red was used to indicate the road, sunlit rocks and parts of the distant beach at the right. The trees were painted in a grey brown - possibly Indian ink mixed with Umber [line 29]. It is this colour which delineates the tree trunk, branches and squiggled leaves, but over this, in the leafy areas, the pale red was used again, picking up the back lighting of the late evening sun [line 118]. Both trees, at right and left, were added after the other colours and this had the effect of making them appear transparent. The darkest rocks and foliage at lower left and right corners, were executed almost exclusively in Indian ink [line 26]. When seen on the wall the picture is large enough [50.8 x 69.9 cms, approx. 20" x 28"] for the viewer to have to transfer his weight from one foot to the other, in order to traverse the scene from side to side, and the calm created, both by subject and technique, is mesmerising.

As a trained pattern maker Hugh Williams would have had experience of creating the designs which would, in turn, have been printed on bleached white cloth using engraved wooden blocks or etched copper plates. No means had been discovered to print green and so for some subjects this would have been printed in blue. Over this blue, trained 'pencillers' would lay the yellow dye, to create illusion of green. Red madder dyes would then have been added to give the complete colour range. Francina Irwin has published an advertisement which appeared in the Glasgow Mercury in 1789, offering for sale a printfield at Dalquhurn on the River Leven. It is worth reprinting here for the full picture it gives of the industrial scene from which Williams emerged:



Colour Plate II. WILLIAMS, H. W.: Watercolour, View of the Clyde from Dunotter

[1797, PC] following p. 135.

This manufactory is delightfully situated on the banks of the Leven, and within two miles of the town of Dumbarton from whence any number of pencillers and other work people can be procured. The premises are completely surrounded by the river, and by a canal 18 feet wide at bottom, cut from the river, which admits water sufficient to drive two large wheels; these work three pairs of wash stocks, a calendar, an allum and an indigo mill, with a machine for polishing copperplates; also two large pumps, which supply the wash stocks, together with four boilers and sowering caves...

There is a most complete and convenient set of houses furnished with all the necessary apparatus for carrying on the CHINA BLUE, and also the BLUE PASTE branches, having 15 vats and other vessels erected for that purpose, most of which are lined with lead.

There are three copperplate shops with 7 presses standing (three of which are complete for immediate work); also a grounding machine with a 2 colour copperplate press ready for putting up, having three excellent metal bowls. The printing shops contain 30 tables (mostly mahogany), with the requisite furniture, all complete.

The pencilling shops, with tables, will hold 200 pencillers, and the different apartments are furnished with stoves.

There is a very large assortment of copperplates, and also prints, many of which are perfectly new, executed in the best stile, and adapted for furniture, garments, handkerchiefs, and shawls, of all sizes and colours.

A breastwork is erected on the premises, where boats can with the greatest facility, load and unload every article necessary for the business...³⁰

In the watercolour just described, *View of the Clyde from Dunotter*, Williams depicts Dumbarton Rock, hovering, in transparent colour, on the surface of the River Clyde [line 92]. The River Leven, flowing south from Loch Lomond and into the Clyde at Dumbarton, was perhaps the busiest area in Scotland for linen and cotton finishing, with numerous bleachfields scattered along its banks. In the foreground he shows the Forth and Clyde Canal with a vessel being towed by two horses. This and the small sailing ship heading out to sea remind the viewer that this is a hub of trade within the United Kingdom and beyond, perhaps to America where printed cotton had been popular since the early eighteenth century.

The watercolour is in its original gilded pine frame. The glass, with its painted black mask, is bowed and the frame has been cut to accommodate this eccentricity. The bowing is typical of the cheaper cuts of crown glass, taken from close to the centre of a circular sheet, created by centrifugal force above the glass maker's head. In his *View of Dumbarton* [1795, PC], often paired with the view from Dunotter, Williams depicts the town from closer too, with the Leven meandering off towards the Highlands in the distance. On the left with steam rising gently from its three cooling towers [line 65] is the Dumbarton Glass Works, which was probably the source of this sheet of bowed glass.

Almost every artistic skill practised by Hugh Williams can be traced back to his involvement in the textile industry in Scotland. His drawing is precise and accurate, a reflection of his training as a designer. His etching is related to the printing of patterns on cotton and linen and his watercolour technique is related to the established methods for hand colouring the same. Not only this, but his subject matter - the places he chose to depict in his work before his Continental journey in 1816, are almost all associated with the bleaching and finishing of linen and calico. He depicts almost exclusively the towns and villages where cloth was bleached and printed: Glasgow, Dundee, Perth, Duns, Roslin, Kenmore, Melrose, Brechin and Arbroath, and the rivers which washed the cloth between successive treatments: the Clyde, Esk, Leven and Tay. The waterfalls he drew and painted on the River Leven as it tumbles from Loch Lomond towards the Clyde and the sea, are symbols of the power to be extracted from the water. Lastly the Forth and Clyde Canal, which appears in View of the Clyde from Dunotter, was used to transport the finished goods to market. His entire professional output is related to the emerging, and as yet benign forces, which would lead eventually to the Industrial Revolution.

2:3.3. *Criticism of Colouring.*

Williams' reference to the use of Prussian blue is interesting [line 45]. Some early watercolours by Williams, such as Hawthornden [said to be dated 1795, PC] have a predominance of blue which brought criticism, the first example of which appeared in 1797 and which has already been quoted [p. 123]. Unfortunately, as has been observed, criticism of his colouring has dogged the artist until the present day. The use of blue presented a dilemma to all watercolour painters in the nineteenth century. If an artist used Prussian Blue as Williams advocated, this had the effect of darkening with age; an effect which occurred rapidly enough for artists to begin to take remedial action during their lifetime. The problem was widespread and recognised in print by 1823 when John Hassell stated that Indigo:

keeps steady to its original appearance...Prussian blue, on the contrary, if laid on with the greatest delicacy, will, in a short time, turn to a deeper colour, and will resemble too much the blue bag.

In fact, Indigo did not **'keep steady to its original appearance'** and when J. M. W. Turner was forced by a purchaser, to recognise this fact, he finally resorted to Cobalt Blue.³¹ Williams, writing about his method in 1811, appears to suggest the use of Indigo for the main picture area and Prussian blue for the sky, where the subtle shading from dark at the top to light at the horizon would be least affected, or possibly even enhanced by the darkening. The view of Hawthornden [NGS] is badly faded but in the almost uniquely totally unfaded, Landscape [BM] (Cat. No. W. 34), the surprising darkness of the work may be a result of a colour change.

Perhaps Williams' use of a final yellow wash was also a reaction to the 'blue' criticism. Certainly its use became more marked in his later work and can be seen in Dunira [1804, PC] and in Crissa on Parnassus [c.1825, PC](**Figures 2:1 and 2:2**), already discussed. Dunira is a typical Williams composition, in excellent condition. Distant hills, mountains and a Loch, interlock like theatrical stage flats and the foreground, possibly imaginary, is executed in dark red/browns touched with Indian ink. A young sapling on the left, is the only concession to the Claudian frame. The focus of attention is the group of thatched houses, lower centre, caught in the yellow light. The modelling of the hillsides is remarkable - achieved purely by the use of yellow, laid over a dry blue, on the most delicate pencil outline.

As has been noted, Julian Halsby [1986] took the misunderstanding about Williams' colouring to new heights when he referred to **'the essentially rococo quality of his colours'**³², saying that they were **'sweet'** and implying artificiality. In fact, Hugh Williams used the highly disciplined method defined above almost continuously throughout his career and obtained a remarkably natural appearance. He abandoned its strict application in some of the large exhibition watercolours of his last years, when he appears to have used green directly and occasionally he used green pigment almost dry, in order to achieve the richness of effect necessary to compete with oil paintings. It is thus quite incorrect for Halsby to say that Williams used a rococo colouring - his method was the very antithesis of that.

Halsby's claim does however reveal the greatest difficulty with the method which is that the depth of colour obtainable is limited. It requires a very delicate touch in order to get the correct proportions of blue and yellow - too dark a blue, or a blue such as Prussian Blue

which darkens with age, and the yellow layer has little effect in creating the illusion of green. This would explain why Williams had to resort to dry green pigment late in his career, but its use in his work is extremely limited. (See *Cat* Nos. W. 123 and W. 130).

This use of dark green pigment led Halsby erroneously to suggest that Williams used oil pigment in his larger watercolours, giving as evidence the artist's comments while looking at paintings in the Doria Palace:

Indeed, by painting first with opaque water colours, and afterwards varnishing and finishing with oil colours, a greater degree of splendour may perhaps be obtained, than by painting wholly with either kind.³³

There is no evidence that Williams ever used oil pigment in his watercolours and he is here describing a method very like one practised by Richard Ramsay Reinagle [1775-1862] and mentioned by Jessie Harden in 1807, as a means of making oil sketches, on paper, in the field.³⁴ Williams sent Reinagle to see the Hardens in the Lake District in that year and it may be that Williams used this oil-sketch method himself, in works which are now lost. In fact, apart from the dark green mentioned above, Hugh Williams studiously avoided the use of bodycolour [except for the smallest highlights], a fact which is at the very core of his achievement.

2:4.4. *Early Watercolours, 1792-1800.*

Williams' earliest watercolour, said to be dated 1792, is a view of The Clyde and Forth Canal [untraced]³⁵ (**Figure 2: 5**) but the earliest in a public collection is City of Glasgow [GAGM] (**Cat. No. W. 1**), handled in the same simple topographical way. The model for the latter is probably John Slezer's View of Glasgow from the South where a carriage is also shown crossing the Bridge. These works and his advertised willingness to produce '**Views of a Particular Place**' confirm that Williams began his career as a strict topographer, a path from which he rarely strayed. He became more romantic and followed the trend towards large exhibition watercolours but the intention in his work was to record his surroundings accurately.

Very occasionally Williams created pictures from his imagination such as Grecian Landscape and Academic Grove, Athens (**Cat. Nos. P. 112 and 151**, watercolours untraced) and on at least two occasions, he used an earlier drawing or an etching, as the basis for an entirely new composition (See **Cat. No. W. 49** and **P. 22**). Iolo Williams suggested³⁶ that the watercolour Birnam Wood [1801] (**Cat. No. W. 27**) '**would have entitled Williams to be classed among the creators of imaginative landscape had he done others like it.**' In fact, it is a reasonable interpretation of the craggy slopes of Birnam Hill, near Dunkeld, but with the addition of some gnarled and wind-swept old tree trunks. Indeed, many so-called imaginative views actually represent a limited knowledge on the part of the viewer.

In common with many other topographers Williams did not explore a free use of picturesque elements in the creation of an entirely imaginary scene. Indeed, it is a curious feature of eighteenth and nineteenth century artistic practice that realism proved to be the dominant force, even among artists trained in the most free and picturesque way. It is recognised that Paul Sandby [1731-1809] began his career as a clever exponent of imaginative landscape, only to spend much of the remainder of his life as a strict and eventually, rather dreary topographer.³⁷ He was making a living by meeting a demand.

There was a demand in Scotland for views of the lowland Lochs and houses with romantic or literary associations around Edinburgh. Hugh Williams provided, on a large scale

and in the best Claudian manner, the colour illustrations for the generation of travellers inspired to come to Scotland by William Gilpin's Observations, relative to Picturesque Beauty, Made in the Year 1776, on Several Parts of Great Britain: particularly the Highlands of Scotland, published in 1789. Paul Sandby's magnificent aquatints of Scottish scenery had been published in 1780, but in monotone. Joseph Farington had also been commissioned to produce drawings of Scottish scenery for publication, doing so on a tour in 1788, but the project came to nothing on the death of the commissioning bookseller John Knox, in 1790.³⁸ Between 1792 and 1800 Hugh Williams painted large views of almost all the important stopping places on Gilpin's tour - Edinburgh including all the important sites on the River North Esk; Stirling, Perth, Dunkeld, Taymouth, Killin, Loch Awe, Inveraray, Loch Lomond, Glasgow and the Falls of the Clyde. Four of his views were published in one of the earliest 'tours' of the Highlands: John Stoddart's Remarks on Local Scenery and Manners in Scotland during the years 1799 and 1800, in 1800.

Watercolours such as the incorrectly titled, Grecian Isles, (in fact a 'View of Loch Lomond from Knockour Wood') [1794, WAGM](Cat. No. W. 4), View of the Clyde from Dunotter [1797, PC](Colour Plate II after p. 135), View of Dumbarton [1795, PC] and Loch Katrine, Trossacks [1799, NGS](Cat. No. W. 19) were made to satisfy the demand encouraged by Gilpin. All these works are executed with the most delicate aerial perspective, in the most disciplined three colour technique and have elaborate repoussoirs. Their structure is based on 'Claudian' models, with elegant trees at left and right, probably inspired as much by contact with theatrical scenery as with original works by, or prints after Claude Lorrain.

The most important feature of these watercolours is that they are the earliest fully coloured views of the sites in question and in many cases became the standard views for the following century, inspiring Alexander Nasmyth, John Knox [1778-1845] and Horatio McCulloch [1805-1867]. As noted in Chapter 1:2.2, Nasmyth's celebrated drop-scene of c. 1805 for the Theatre Royal in Glasgow, was described by James Nasmyth:

The scene in question was a magnificent view of the Clyde, looking towards Dumbarton Rock. It was much admired, and was held in great esteem³⁹

This scene was almost certainly inspired by the watercolour described earlier, Williams' View of the Clyde, from Dunotter [earliest dated 1794, others 1796 and 1797, all PC] (**Colour Plate II**, after p. 135).

Williams also found a great demand for watercolours of Scottish Castles mentioned by Gilpin, as evidenced by the great number of versions of these works. The most popular in this group were Bothwell Castle [c.1795, BM] (**Cat. No. W. 8**), Rosslyn Castle [c.1795, BM] (**Cat. No. W. 7**), Castle Campbell [1796, NMW] (**Cat. No. W. 14**) and Hawthornden [1796, NGS] (**Cat. No. W. 9**). Williams was making original views of all but Bothwell, where his view from the South is a direct response to the engraving South View of Bothwell Castle by Paul Sandby of 1751 (**Figure 2:6**). Williams' other common view of Bothwell Castle [versions - Christies 4.11.75, Lot 77, dated 1796 and YCBA, 1798, **Cat. No. W. 18**], may have been a response to the view, with its dramatic steepness of angle, published by James Moore in his Twenty Five Views in the Southern Part of Scotland, London [1794, plate before p.79]. Williams may however have been inspired by an earlier but undated pen and brown wash drawing, of almost identical viewpoint, by John Runciman [1744-1776].⁴⁰

The Forbes Drummond Album contained in one collection, before its dispersal, a group of work which illustrated perfectly Williams' dependence on William Gilpin for his inspiration. Leaving aside the question of whether these views were painted by Williams or worked up from views made by a member of the Forbes Drummond family [See Chapter 1:4.2, p. 81], they nevertheless reflect neatly the influence of William Gilpin's publications. The album contained examples of views on each of the great 'Tours' identified so admirably by Malcolm Andrews in his The Search for the Picturesque [1989]. In Wales there were views of Caernarfon; Conway Castle and Llangollen. In the Lakes District, Crossthwaite Church, Keswick; Comiston Lake; and Keswick Lake. In Scotland, Bothwell Castle [eight views]; Craignethan Castle and Kenmore on Loch Tay. Many of the works were dated, placing them between 1796 and 1798, and the group included a view from one of the most important sites in the picturesque tour - the Summer house at the Lower Fall at Rydall, near Ambleside (**Figure 2: 7**). This waterfall was the subject of an elaborate description by Gilpin, but the essential fact emerges at the beginning:

It is seen from a summer-house; before which its rocky cheeks circling on each side form a little area; appearing through the window like a picture in a frame.⁴¹

Here in a real landscape, the great influences on landscape painting combined; the framing of a subject by a viewing platform reminded the viewer of the framing of a subject by an artist and by the proscenium arch in the theatre. Nature reflecting art, reflecting nature.

There is one work, in pencil and sepia wash, in the Forbes Drummond Album, which is worthy of closer inspection, because it indicates the direction Williams would take later. Depicting an unidentified Waterfall, it dates from the period 1796-8 and is unusual because of its vertical format⁴² (**Figure 2: 8**). In Waterfall the white water and a shaft of sunlight cascade together through a high gap in the rocky cliff, which is painted in very broad strokes of sepia. The water falls and chatters away towards the foreground and two tiny figures are silhouetted by the rapids, but the remainder of the composition is taken up by the dark wall of the cliffs. The handling is rapid, confident and stylised but the effect is one of grandeur and, appropriate for an artist of his time, subdued terror. In a few moments, possibly on the spot, Williams reacted to the drama of the scene and created an image which hovers in the imagination. This is an unusual work, as it is more often the detail of the landscape which Williams records, and the same response was not to emerge again until his dramatic and more mature view, Glencoe of c.1812. In Glencoe Williams would challenge the picturesque principles laid down by Gilpin and create something new.

2:4.5. *Transitional Watercolours, 1800-1816.*

In 1800, Hugh Williams exhibited his large watercolour Loch Tay, Scotland at the Royal Academy in London. This was probably Kenmore on Loch Tay [1799, PAGM] (Cat. No. W. 21) and it hung in the Antique Academy, beside works by his Edinburgh colleague George Walker [d. 1815] and the large watercolour views of Fonthill Splendens, by J. M. W. Turner. The significance of this event has been obscured in Algernon Graves' dictionary of contributors⁴³ where he confuses Hugh Williams with J. F. Williams [1785-1846]. The picture is one of the artist's finest. It captures the breadth of the landscape in a view which had been recommended by William Gilpin in 1789.⁴⁴ It does so on a large scale and in colour, and it is this which is most remarkable. Williams uses the strict classical method of handling colour to paint an image of great beauty which is also highly disciplined. With Kenmore on Loch Tay, Williams reached the high point of his theatrical, topographical Scottish views and it seems entirely appropriate that he should have sent it south.

In his watercolours made after 1800, and before his Grand Tour in 1816, Williams continued to produce the standard topographical views, as economics demanded, but he also began to explore the Scottish landscape in a more abstract way. This concern for the basic shape of hills and mountains, for the pattern of vegetation and the flow of water through the landscape, hinted at in the work Waterfall already discussed, began to appear even in the larger works around 1800. While in the collection at Fyvie Castle, Kenmore on Loch Tay [PAGM] discussed above, was one of three large watercolours. The others, View of Dunkeld Abbey [PC] and View of Dunkeld [PAGM] (Cat. No. W. 23) from their style, also appear to have been painted in 1799 or shortly after. The View of Dunkeld marks a turning away from the theatrical Claudian view with its elaborate repoussoirs of imaginary trees. There are some framing trees here, but Williams seems fascinated with the rising slope of the hill, beyond the village of Dunkeld. The hill is central in the frame and dominates the composition. The large areas of vegetation are treated almost as abstract patterns, but they draw attention, at the same time, to the enlightened improvements made to the landscape by the Duke of Atholl. At the

suggestion of the painter Alexander Nasmyth, he is said to have fired large lumps of clay impregnated with pine seedlings, at the inaccessible crags above the river at Dunkeld.

There is another work from this period, in excellent condition, Landscape [1802, BM] (Cat. No. W. 34), in which the form of the hill is again dominant. It occupies a large part of the composition and almost reduces the Falls on the River Tummel, and certainly the figures, to little more than a side-show. It seems that it is the force of nature which is being depicted - the volcanic upheaval which created the hills and the power of the water, cutting its way through the landscape.

This concern for the forces of nature culminated in a work - Glencoe (Cat. No. W. 71) exhibited with the Associated Artists in Edinburgh in 1812 (No. 102) and at the Royal Academy in 1815 (No. 497). It represents his second (and final) appearance there. Glencoe was one of the subjects acquatinted by F. C. Lewis in 1813 (Cat. No. P. 39) and the print includes a rather surprising eagle, to the left of lower centre. Wings spread and screeching, it pins a sheep to the ground with its talons. This eagle is perhaps a clue to a surprising literary source for the work and also to the radical shift in the artist's perception of landscape.

In an article on Archibald Alison's Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste Edinburgh [1811], which appeared in The Edinburgh Review for May 1811,⁴⁵ the writer contrasted a typical English landscape with a Highland or Welsh example:

Take, for instance, the case of a common English landscape - green meadows with fat cattle - canals or navigable rivers - well fenced, well cultivated fields - neat, clean scattered cottages - humble antique church with churchyard elms and crossing hedge-rows - all seen under bright skies and in good weather:- There is much beauty, as everyone will acknowledge, in such a scene.....Instead of this quiet and tame English landscape, let us now take a Welch [sic] or a Highland scene; and see whether its beauties will admit of being explained on the same principle. Here, we shall have lofty mountains, and rocky and lonely recesses,- tufted woods hung over precipices,- lakes intersected with castled promontories,- ample solitude of unploughed and untrodden valleys,- nameless and gigantic ruins,- and mountain echoes repeating the scream of the eagle and the roar of the cataract. This, too, is beautiful; and to those who can interpret the language it speaks, far more beautiful than the prosperous scene with which we have contrasted it.

The Rev. Archibald Alison [1757-1845] was born in Edinburgh and from 1800 was incumbent at the Cowgate Chapel, before his congregation moved to St. Paul's [later St. Paul's & St. Georges] Episcopal Chapel, York Place in 1818.⁴⁶ He published his influential Essays on Taste from 1790 and this went through many editions. His most important and influential

ideas were on the associations made by the viewer, when looking at objects of beauty - particularly the Classical orders and works of art. Williams, as a near neighbour and a leading arbiter of taste in Edinburgh, would have known of Alison, and his own Greek watercolours are perfect examples of Alison's ideas in practice.

Williams' watercolours of Scottish Castles always contained an element of association - carrying the viewer back to an heroic Scottish past. Indeed, this was the reason for their popularity. His Glencoe corresponded directly to the Edinburgh Review article - the writer noting '**the feuds and combats, and the triumphs of its wild and primitive inhabitants, contrasted with the stillness and desolation of the scenes where they lie interred**'. It stirred memories of the massacre of the Macdonald Clan in the Glen, in February 1692.

In Glencoe, Williams translated the scene, possibly drawn on the spot, into a spontaneous but brooding watercolour with a very limited colour range, almost entirely in broad washes of sepia, a colour which nevertheless reflects this particular landscape. There is little detail and there are no individual trees but he includes a walker, who projects just above the foreground mass, signifying '**the weakness and insignificance of perishable man**'.⁴⁷ The full power of the watercolour is obscured today, by fading, but some sense of its intensity can be gauged from a companion work with the same title, now in the Williamson Art Gallery (Cat. No. W. 72). In this the colouring is very dark and brooding although the composition is not as refined. The image when new must have been something of a surprise to a Scottish audience. When it was exhibited in Edinburgh in 1812, the reviewer in the Scots Magazine realised that he was looking at something unusual, but struggled to interpret its language:

This View represents one of the most magnificent mountain scenes in Scotland, and affords ample scope for calling forth all the powers of the artist. It is but justice to say that the general treatment and effect of this picture is such as to merit our approbation. The sky we think peculiarly well painted, and there is great richness of colouring in the middle ground; but it occurs to us, at the same time, that there is rather a want of detail, or rather individuality in the mountains on the left, and of depth of shade; which in our opinion would have added very considerably to the gloomy grandeur of so splendid a scene.

This watercolour may also be influenced by the artist's first experiments with the oil medium in 1810, to be discussed in Section 2: 5.

There is one other artist in the British School who treated landscapes in broad areas of colour, while keeping within the traditional method of laying colours over grey shadows. This was Francis Towne [1739/40-1816]. The styles of Williams and Towne are very different, but the connections between these artists may be closer than is presently known.⁴⁸ Towne was, like Williams, almost certainly a native of Devonshire although there is, as yet no documentary evidence to support this claim. He was a master of simplified design and pattern.

One aspect of his work may have had an influence on the watercolours produced by Williams around 1811. This is summed up well by Adrian Bury while discussing Towne's remarkable watercolour The Salmon Leap, from Pont Aberglaslyn, dated 1777:

There is nothing picturesque in this watercolour, Towne seeking the essential anatomy of a scene almost remote from human association and comparatively immune from the aggression of time.⁴⁹

This could also be said of his Source of the Arveyron [1781, TG](Figure 2: 9) with its severe simplicity. From evidence which has only recently come to light, Towne visited Edinburgh in August 1811, in his seventy-first year and it is possible that he and Williams met.⁵⁰

In 1812 Williams travelled to Wales, and his new style may have undergone an interesting cross-fertilisation with the work of Thomas Jones [1742-1803], although there is no specific evidence that Williams knew Jones' work. In his oil sketches, executed in Rome in 1782, Jones' watercolours took on a remarkably uncompromising gaze which has affinities with photography.⁵¹ In his watercolour Aberdare [1812, NMW](Cat. No. W. 67) Williams created an inspired work which is unique in his output. It appears to reflect a knowledge of these austere oil sketches by Jones and continued his own search for something new. The composition is very tight, like a detail of a landscape, and is made up of walls and sloping roofs, treated in broad washes of colour on coarse grained paper. A figure, achieved with a minimum of strokes, is strategically placed, about to cross the road. The drawing was, according to the artist's inscription on the reverse, coloured on the spot. Without the evidence here and if it were not signed and dated then it is most likely that this work would not be considered to be by Williams. It could easily pass for the work of Peter de Wint and indeed, confirms Iolo Williams' concern, mentioned in the Introduction to this thesis.

There is one watercolour by Williams of Old Houses, Exeter, [1815, PC] (Figure 2: 10), which demonstrates an interest in formal structure, closely related to Jones' oil sketches. The view is very 'frontal' and the low wall at the lower right side, creates a formal barrier, over which the viewer observes the distant houses with their open windows. The window voids create a gentle syncopation like that to be seen in Jones's Houses in Naples, [1782, BM](Figure 2:11). The effect is not as stark as Aberdare nor Jones' work and this is possibly because the light is softer. However, the idea of a very formal, 'head on' picture structure, to be developed later by Williams in large architectural views of Greek monuments, can be traced back to this watercolour.

This period of uncertainty in the work of Hugh Williams is also marked by a broadening of subject matter to include large figure studies. The small etching of a Lady Reading [1811, BM] (Cat No, P. 31), is the first clue to this interest and it is appropriate that it appears in the artist's output a year after the Associated Artists in Edinburgh set up a life academy. (See Chapter 1:5 2) The classes were held in the house of James Howe [1780-1836], at 6 North St. David's Street, very close to where Williams lived. The effect of the academy on the use of the figure in Williams' work was quite dramatic. Until this time he relied on very small figures, such as the pair who walk away from the viewer in Kenmore on Loch Tay [1799, PAGM] (Cat. No. W. 21). Occasionally he used figures even smaller than these - more like squiggles of the brush - such as those who appear at the right side of Edinburgh Castle [BMAG] (Cat. No. W. 26). In fact, as noted previously much of his early work is marked by its lack of any figures at all, and clearly Williams was aware of his failings in this regard, as there are some works [two in private collections] where the figure is loosely outlined in pencil, but not coloured. In other cases, Williams seems to have employed the services of another [unknown] artist. One such case, in a public collection, is the Landscape, River flowing between Mountains [VAM](Cat No, W. 22), where a tall, elegantly drawn man, and his dog, stroll along the river bank at the left side of the picture. The remainder of this work is clearly by Williams but the style of the figure may have led to it being attributed, to Francis Nicholson [1753-1844]. A frequent visitor to Scotland, Nicholson may in fact be the author of the figure.

There are also figures by another hand, [possibly Julius Caesar Ibbetson, 1759-1817] in Dumbarton from Langbank [1810, GAGM](Cat. No. W. 57).

The use of figures, as might be expected if Williams had been attending life classes, improved slowly and those in Kilchurn Castle, Loch Awe [1810, GAGM] (Cat. No. W. 54) are a little more realistic, but from 1811 the improvement in figure drawing is quite marked. As the classes were held in the house of James Howe, most famous for his equestrian studies, horses also begin to appear, alone or with the figures, and Dunfermline Abbey [1811] (Cat. No. W. 63) is a good example. The figures also become larger and those which appear in Windsor Castle [PC], are perhaps as large as possible without beginning to interfere with the balance of the composition (Figure 2:12). The central figure in Aberdare [1812, NMW](Cat. No. W. 67) must represent the height of confidence in the handling of a figure. In just a few strokes, Williams has captured a sense of uncertainty and frailty, suggesting old age - even though the face of the person cannot be seen, as they encounter a gutter.

Buoyed by his success, Williams experimented with compositions where the figure became the central feature, possibly inspired by the exhibited work of Thomas Heaphy [1775-1835] or the proximity of Joshua Cristall [1768-1847] the son of a Scotsman, who visited Edinburgh in 1818 and lived in the City for a period. There are also corollaries in the work of the artist's friend, John Harden, whose Dairy Maid and Boy Milking a Cow [PC](Figure 1: 16) echoes Williams' Landscape [1816, PC](Figure 1: 5), but it is difficult to know which way the inspiration travelled. Williams exhibited the enigmatically titled Landscape with the Associated Artists, in Edinburgh in 1816 (No.108). It shows a milkmaid and two cows, in a landscape [the scene, particularly the house in the distance, resembles the area around Swanston also drawn by Williams. See Cat. No. D. 7]. The effortless style of the Aberdare figure has not been maintained, although attempted. Here, the spontaneity has led to an awkwardness of the figure, particularly in the shoulders.

Figures are more successful when they are a less dominant feature of the composition, as in Cowherd [PC](Figure 2:13). In this, the languid figure of the boy has a more relaxed feeling, partly to do with the composition but also because of the style of execution where, once again, the loose, sketchy brushwork conveys a sense of realism. Williams' figures, at their

best, possess this innate sense of repose and this becomes clearer in the figures in his large Greek watercolours, to be considered later.

Only a few watercolours of this new figurative style are known, before Williams travelled to Greece. On his return he spent much of the remainder of his life painting the large Greek topographical watercolours he exhibited in 1822 and 1826, and satisfying the demands of his clients. He did occasionally revert to his simplified style, evident in Caerphilly Castle (Cat. No. W. 121) of c. 1826-7.

2:4.6. *Watercolours on the Grand Tour, 1816-1818.*

As noted in the section on Drawings, works undertaken during the Grand Tour are unusual - those drawings in the De la Hanty Album now forming the largest group from this period. However, a small group of more finished works including two large water-colours do appear to have been executed during the artist's time on the Continent. The reason for this small number may be explained by the fact that in one case a watercolour catalogued as A Fishing Port [NGS](Cat. No. W. 88) - in fact a view by Williams of the Castle and Porta Ferrajo on Elba - had been ascribed to James Giles [1801-1870] and another, Coastal Scene [VAM](Cat. No. W. 93) - in reality a view on the Albanian coast - had not been identified as a scene on the route of Williams' Continental tour. In the case of the former, a view of the same fortress from the opposite side of the island, etched by William Miller after Williams, was published in 1828 and a detail of the latter was published in the artist's Select Views in Greece in 1823.

Reflecting the time and risk involved, many of the works made on the Continent may have been intended for publication. While in Naples Williams made a very fresh and large coloured sketch of a building, now identified as the Villa Saliceti [FM](Cat. No. W. 94) although it is inscribed 'Villa Dalgette'.⁵² This work is also inscribed with colour notes and a date, 7th June, which can only refer to 1818, on the artist's return from Greece, as he was in Naples in January and February 1817 on the outward journey. It is suggested here that the smaller study in pen and ink with sepia wash, known simply as Landscape [NMW](Cat. No. W. 95), is yet another view of the same building, from a position which includes a distant view of Capri. From its scale and medium, this work may have been executed in Edinburgh and intended for publication in the planned 'Select Views in Italy', which came to nothing.

In Rome Williams made another of these sparkling works in sepia wash, a view of Lake Avernus [1816, UM](Cat. No. W. 91), for a very special publication. This was the Duchess of Devonshire's re-publication of Virgil's Aeneid [1819]. The artist used all his powers to create an image full of light and texture. The foreground is composed of all kinds of vegetation, some of it created by leaving the paper to show through. The composition reflects his interest in Dutch landscape where, rather than having a Claudian frame of trees, the action - in this case

the suggestion of a pagan procession - is seen through a stand of trees which occupies the right third of the work. The trees themselves are joined by garlands of vines, adding to the atmosphere and the entire composition is laid on a delicate pencil drawing, only just visible. This type of work shares a delight in light and shade, to be found in the early watercolours painted by Paul Sandby [1731-1809] in Scotland in the 1740's and to be discussed in Chapter 4.

Surprisingly, two large watercolours appear to have been executed while Williams was on his tour. The first of these, Temple of Vespasian, Rome [NGS](Cat. No. W. 90) has, for all its size, the appearance of a drawing executed on the spot. It is roughly drawn on a sheet which has been extended at the lower edge and is covered in notes such as "**cool colour**" and "**brick**" on the entablature. On the Arch of Septimus Severus, the notes "**White**" and "**Umber**" have been emphasised in ink. The perspective is poor and this has been adjusted in the colouring stage, particularly at the extreme top of the picture where Williams tried to avoid the approaching edge of the paper. Archibald Edmonstone, who presented the picture to the National Gallery of Scotland, was the uncle of the artist's wife, Robina Miller, whom Williams married in 1827. This may explain the handling of the sky, which appears to have been added later as it equates more closely to work executed in the last years of the artist's life and not with a study done on the spot.

The second of these works, View of the Temple of Olympian Zeus [NGS](Cat. No. W. 102) is even larger and were it not for the tonal code numbers inscribed, for example in the lower left corner, and other colour and texture notes, it would be difficult to believe that it had been executed in Greece. The likelihood of an artist transcribing notes from a sketch to a larger version would make some sense, but the transfer of code numbers relating to tonal values, especially in a work which has been coloured, would be surprising. It is known that Williams used a system of code numbers for tonal density and not for colour because they also appear on two drawings of waterfalls, executed in Scotland around 1812 (Cat Nos. D. 14 & 15). On these grounds it is possible to suggest that this watercolour is indeed a large work executed in Athens - a great rarity, considering the artist's short stay in the city. It is interesting that he was already beginning to experiment with the type of large exhibition watercolour which would occupy him for the rest of his life.

2:4.7. *The Exhibition Watercolour, 1819-1829.*

By the time Williams exhibited his Greek watercolours in 1822, his work reflected the concerns of all watercolour artists looking for new forms of expression. The new attitude can be seen in part, as the medium growing up - artists finding greater confidence with colour and techniques - and also the move towards larger watercolours, where a more vigorous approach could be sustained by the strength of the paper and its size. One of their concerns was to exhibit alongside oil paintings and the most obvious way to achieve parity with oils was to work on a grand scale. Williams painted some of the largest exhibition watercolours ever painted, in the short period after his return from Greece. His works exhibited in 1822 and 1826 were large (around 56.0 x 90.0 is average) but he apparently began working on a grand scale in 1824. In that year he wrote to Benjamin Gott, the Leeds based collector, explaining the difficulties he was having:

I have many apologies to make to you for being so long in sending the View of Athens which you obligingly commissioned me to make some time ago. The truth is I was a little intimidated by the size, knowing it would require a considerable time to execute....The drawing is the largest I ever made.... I beg to say that the picture took me much longer than I had any idea of when I had the happiness of seeing you, it being highly finished and on a scale of colour which required a difficult and tedious process...⁵³

Many of these large scale works have been returned to Greece by collectors where, unfortunately, the climatic conditions are unlikely to improve their chances of survival in good condition. However, two of the largest and best of these large scale works, View of Athens from the East and View of the Temple of Olympias, survive in a private collection in Scotland. They measure approx. 90.0 x 140.0 cms and have suffered minor changes in condition but they represent the peak of Williams' performance at this grand scale.

The main difficulty with the very large watercolours by Williams is not, as Martin Hardie erroneously suggested, attenuated colour - that, as explained, was an effect of severe fading - but rather that they represent the limit of what could be achieved with the medium and Williams was not alone in facing this dilemma. Competing visually with oil paintings was not just a matter of a scale and a gilt frame.⁵⁴ The watercolour itself required a greater intensity of colouring in order to stand the comparison, which is probably why Williams began to use a

very dark green in his later works. He also adopted another strategy to create interest and an authority of structure. As has been seen, Williams began working with formal picture structures before going to the Continent. Perhaps as a result of his meeting in Italy with George Basevi but more likely from his contact with C. R. Cockerell, he began to experiment with perspective and vanishing points.

Alexander Nasmyth often experimented with two or even three viewpoints within a single work, in some of his large landscapes. This leads to difficulties when a viewer expects to be able to place himself in the artist's shoes, when viewing or remembering the scene. He soon discovers that not all the elements can be seen from the same viewpoint. This very elaborate device is clearly visible in Princes Street with the Royal Institution Building under Construction [1825, NGS], where Princes Street and the Old Town are drawn very much as they were then. However, Arthur's Seat and Salisbury Crag form the backdrop to the scene, a feat which would only be possible if the viewer, from this point on the street, were to levitate some thirty feet vertically.

Williams used the same technique in The Falls of the Clyde - Corra Lynn [NGS](Cat. No. W. 20), which shows a distant hill above and beyond the Fall. From the same vantage point today, it is impossible to see such a hill, again, unless the viewer were to rise by some thirty feet from the spot. This adjusting of the elements in a composition is quite a common part of the Picturesque movement and it represented the limit to which a topographical artist could go, without losing the confidence of his audience.

Williams used other techniques to create a formal structure, the most frequent being the careful selection of a viewpoint. In Old Houses, Exeter [1815, PC], this involved the selection of a part of the view which emphasised the open windows, creating patches of dark tone that operate as a counterpoint to the way the eye traverses the remainder of the view. This formal picture-making derives ultimately from Williams' work for the theatre, where the artist must continually find variety and interest from a fixed viewpoint. This is clearly obvious in Aberdare [1812, NMW](Cat. No. W. 67), with its borders set by real or imagined 'theatrical flats'.

After his Grand Tour, Williams adopted even more elaborate means of creating very formal compositions, and this is clear in two large exhibition watercolours - The Erechtheum, Athens [1822, YCBA] (Cat. No. P. 121) and View of the most remarkable Ruins in the Acropolis of Athens [PC] The first is quite a simple example and it is best explained in a diagram, based on the etching of the Erechtheum by James Stewart (**Figure 2:14**). This should be compared with the watercolour itself, in the Catalogue.

Williams drew the Erechtheum from a standard viewpoint and it is an accurate representation. However, the vanishing point of the architecture coincides with the standing figure, holding a staff, at the right side. If the perspective lines are continued, they coincide with the top of the staff and the man's head. But this is not all. In order to reinforce this structure visually, the clouds at the top left of the composition [between the Ionic column and the vertical wall] have been drawn in such a way that they too emphasise the lines. This has been done by creating a small dark patch of cloud at just the right angle to catch the eye.

In the case of View of the most remarkable Ruins in the Acropolis of Athens, the perspective lines from the structure on the right once again converge on the head of the seated figure, but not content with this, when the image was etched by John Horsburgh for the Select Views in Greece, with the title Temples of Erechtheus and Minerva Polias (Cat. No. P. 91), Williams changed the composition so that the lines from the row of columns on the left vanished at a classical urn on the wall in the foreground. In another version of this watercolour, published in The Rediscovery of Greece in 1981 (Figure 31, p. 123), the lines do not converge in this way. This watercolour is said to be dated 1819, which would make it one of the earliest large scale works, perhaps the one made for exhibition in 1822 [No. 1]. If the version under discussion here was the one exhibited in 1826 [No. 44], then it may be that it was influenced by the artist's collaboration with the architect C. R. Cockerell.

Williams worked with Cockerell in 1822, and from the architect's journal it can be seen that they worked closely on the production of drawings of the Parthenon.⁵⁵ This may be the source of his overall interest in altering architectural perspective. It is quite clear that in both of the watercolours under discussion, Williams adjusted the vanishing points to create certain underlying and pre-determined patterns, ignoring the rules of perspective to do so. This free

use of perspective devices to 'correct' works apparently made from nature, is also a characteristic of the work of J. M. W. Turner, Professor of Perspective at the Royal Academy.⁵⁶ It is possible that Williams attended some if not all of Turner's lectures, open as they were to anyone who could obtain a ticket. They began in January 1811 but Williams and Turner met more than once during his visit to Scotland in 1822, when they dined together on at least two occasions.

Drawing was very important to Hugh Williams and as has been said already, it is visible in all of his works. The artist's drawing styles will be considered next.

2:4. Drawings.

The purchase at auction of the De la Hanty album⁵⁷ by Steven Somerville in the 1980's, dramatically increased the number of known drawings by Hugh Williams. Four sheets from a total of around 135 have found their way into public collections (Nos. D. 18 and 20, and three others which have added colour, W. 89, 96 and 97). There are probably many hundreds of such drawings in private collections [less than ten are known] but these appear only occasionally in the auction rooms. Even then, they are often sold in portfolios, unattributed. In order to appear as a single lot in one of the large auction houses, any landscape drawing must be by a well known artist or have special qualities, such as the large view of the Coliseum by Hugh Williams, From the Palace of the Caesars, Rome, 1817, sold at Christies in 1976.⁵⁸

Of the fifty or so drawings in public collections listed in the attached Catalogue, the largest group - the Notman bequest (Cat. Nos. D. 26 to D. 49.) - probably date from late in the artist's life, after his Grand Tour. Three sheets are dated between 1821 and 1828, (Nos. 23, 27, 31). The small group at Perth Art Gallery (Cat. Nos. D.4 to D.9 and D. 14 -15.) is therefore very important as an example of his work in the 1790's, as are the two remarkable drawings of waterfalls in the same collection, probably dating from around 1815. The British Museum has two drawings by Williams which are representative of his differing styles. The first, Melrose Abbey (Cat. No. D. 10) of around 1804, is a fine example of the artist's precise architectural style, and there is another in almost exactly the same style, of Kelso Abbey at Glasgow (Cat. No. D. 12). The second drawing in the British Museum is double sided. On one side is a very rare, red chalk drawing, Trees at Dunkeld (Cat. No. D. 13.) and on the other, a drawing in pencil, pen and ink of a milkmaid in a wood. No other chalk drawings are known although some are mentioned in the artist's posthumous sale of 1831. [Lots. 78-80 and presumably others under the heading 'Chalk drawings']⁵⁹

The only works of any kind known to have been executed in Greece, are four drawings now at Glasgow (Cat. Nos. D. 16, 17, 18 and 19). Three of these are panoramas executed on large sheets of paper now joined using modern conservation methods. There is evidence that

they were originally held together with dabs of sealing wax and this may be the explanation for there being so few extant drawings made in Greece. Once the sealing wax deteriorated and the sheets separated, they would become almost meaningless. Indeed, there were two loose sheets associated with the De la Hanty album which appeared to be the ends of panoramic drawings, and the group at Perth Art Gallery, mentioned above, also contains two such parts of panoramic drawings.

Drawings executed on the Grand Tour and not associated with the De la Hanty Album are also rare. The Yale Center at New Haven has a large pencil drawing of Taormina, Sicily (Cat. No. D. 22.) which is unusual for its degree of finishing. It is in a precise style which is quite distinct from the softer treatment of Temple of Concord, Agrigento, Sicily, now in the National Galleries of Scotland (Cat. No. D. 20). This was executed in a softer lead [a 'B' as opposed to an 'H' in modern terminology], which has the effect of giving a more picturesque feeling.

Two sketchbooks are known (Cat. No. D. 24-25) with freely executed examples in mixed media, such as charcoal with white and red pencil, alongside more precise pencil drawings. One of these sketchbooks (D. 25) contains panoramic drawings of Cheapstow and Ayr spread across two pages.

It is clear from this survey that even with the discovery of the De la Hanty Album, the number of surviving drawings by Williams is small and far outweighed by the known watercolours.

2:4.1. *Drawing Types.*

The drawings of Hugh Williams can be divided into three categories; I, the pencil drawing, II, the pencil drawing firmed up with pen and ink, and III, the chalk drawing. There are no known drawings in ink alone. In category I there are three distinctive types; I(a), the very accurate depiction of the subject in firmly and confidently drawn lines and secondly, I(b), the more freely handled drawing using a much more flexible wrist. The third type I(c), is a variation on the second, where Williams uses a soft pencil which gives a coarse black line. The first of these types depends on line for effect, the last on texture.

The accurate pencil drawings in the first type, I(a), are a reflection of the artist's training as a pattern designer and there is the suggestion in some architectural subjects, such as Melrose Abbey mentioned above, that Williams had some architectural or military training. Both of these skills may have been acquired from David Allan and this has been discussed in Chapter 1:2. These accurate drawings appear throughout his career; from Melrose Abbey of c. 1804, to works executed towards the end of his life such as the Studies of Trees (Cat. No. D. 41.).⁶⁰ There are no known examples of these accurate drawings before 1804 but his large watercolours from 1794 do include accurate under-drawing.

The textured drawings of the third type, I(c), such as Temple of Concord, Agrigento, Sicily [1817] already mentioned above, seem to date from later in the artist's output. They may coincide with the change in watercolour technique, observable from 1812, in which the surface texture of the paper plays a more prominent role than previously. From his training in etching as a pattern maker, Williams would have been very conscious of the quality of line, and his Etchings of Local Subjects [from 1801], make use of both hard and soft-ground techniques. However, his textured drawings also resemble in appearance works in pencil which had been re-worked with pen and ink, and Williams may have been trying to imitate the bolder effect of ink without its inconvenience in the field. [Certainly, in his waterfall drawings, The Great Fall at Moness and Second View, First Fall at Moness [c.1812, both PAGM] where Williams reinforced the vigorous subject matter with Indian ink, there is evidence of running and blotting which highlights the difficulties of working with ink on the spot]. This type of textural drawing represents a more searching line, where the pencil defines the subject loosely and this may be a reflection of contact with Alexander Nasmyth, a subject discussed in Chapter 1:2.

The intermediate type I(b), where the hard pencil line is allowed much more freedom of expression may also stem from contact with Alexander Nasmyth, and Williams' sketchbook drawing Group of Trees on a Bank [BM](Cat. D. 25, p. 3) is a good example. This freedom is also clearly visible [but not in photographs] in the under-drawing in the large early watercolours where Williams uses accurate pencil drawing for the detailed depiction of topographical information but a much freer hand in the imaginary repoussoirs.

Gradually Williams came to use a combination of all three techniques in a single drawing such as From the Palace of the Caesars, Rome, 1817, sold at Christies in 1976 and

referred to earlier. This combines accurate drawing in the architectural details, free drawing in the foreground repoussoir and the textured lines with hatching at the left. In general Hugh Williams' drawing style progresses from accurate outline - towards a freer hand - to a highly textured line, but he was capable of combining all three from the time of his Grand Tour. Perhaps it was the speed required for drawings made on the tour that loosened his style.

Drawings which fall into category II, executed in pencil, pen and ink, form the largest group because this includes the material in the De la Hanty Album. The drawings at Perth Art Gallery were purchased as a group of ten sheets in a portfolio from Sotheby's. Three sheets are not by Hugh Williams [See Doubtful Attributions in the Catalogue of Works in Public Collections], two are the waterfall drawings described above [these are pages from a sketch book] and the remaining five are views in the Scottish Highlands. Of these five, one, Kenmore form the North West is a panorama made up of two sheets, another two, Ballachulish House with part of Loch Leven... and Bothwell Castle from the South are complete drawings and the remaining two sheets are all that remain of further panoramic views in the Highlands. Their subject matter - Kenmore on Loch Tay and Bothwell Castle, suggest a date before 1800 and probably closer to 1795. The sheet Ballachulish House.. is watermarked 1795. This group represents in microcosm the fate, alluded to at the beginning of this Section of many drawings by Hugh Williams.

These five drawings made in the Highlands are typical of Hugh Williams in style. They are executed in very faint pencil and have been firmed up by the use of Indian ink. Trees are made up of squiggled '3's or more vigorous multiples of '3'. The buildings are clearly outlined in confident strokes and shadows are treated in bold black pencil lines broken up by the haste of application and the texture of the paper. Very small figures with walking sticks, also typical of Williams at this date, have been introduced into two of the sheets. Because of the panoramic nature of the drawings, they include a large amount of sky, but this expansive treatment of landscape with open vistas, a feature of many of the artist's complete watercolours is no doubt a reflection of his involvement with theatrical scenery in the 1790's. The Claudian repoussoirs in Kenmore form the North West is another feature possibly derived from the theatre. No watercolours after these subjects are known.

The drawings in the De la Hanty Album formed the largest surviving group of the artist's work until it was broken up for sale in 1988.⁶¹ The drawings were originally in a large folio album of approximately 135 drawings; tipped in, two to a page, one above the other, or stored loosely, between the pages. Predominantly on white wove paper, some sheets were self-coloured blue, brown or sepia and others had been colour washed with delicate shades of yellow, pink or green - in much the same manner as J. M. W. Turner is said to have coloured his papers before making drawings.⁶² All the drawings had originally been executed in pencil and all but a few had been inked over. Evidence suggested that the inking up had been carried out *after* the drawings had been tipped into the album, as in one or two cases, the wet ink had transferred to drawings on the facing page. This is confirmed by the fact that in the three sheets with further drawings on the reverse - for example, Dusseldorf [PC], which had a view of Nijmegen on the back - the verso drawing remained un-inked.

The drawings are typical of Williams in their style, with Claudian repoussoirs, either drawn on the spot or added later in the inking process. They have the characteristic squiggly outlines for trees and vigorous cross-hatching for shading and foreground detail. In two cases, Monte Sagro Ponte Nomentana [dated 30th January 1818] and Ponte Salara [dated 11th February 1818, both PC] the drawings are initialled 'H.W.W'. The inking up may have taken place at some time after the drawing itself and one sheet with a particularly vigorous foreground, inscribed 'Val d'Ariccia. 1818' [PC], is additionally inscribed 'Relugas, 28th Sept. 1820' [or 26?]. Relugas was the country estate of the artist's friend and pupil, Sir Thomas Dick Lauder - discussed in Chapter 1:4. There were other sheets in the album [now PC], of Relugas House itself and of landscape studies made in the rugged scenery around the house, along the River Findhorn and its tributaries.

One of these drawings inscribed 'Relugas, 14th Nov. 1823', (Figure 2: 15) was possibly used by the Rev. John Thomson of Duddingston as source material for his oil, Glen of Altnarie [PC](Figure 2:16 and detail, 17). A rugged tree, overhanging the river, is seen from one side by Williams and painted as if seen from the other side by Thomson, who forgot to change the overlapping branch in order to preserve the perspective. Thomson's posthumous sales, held

after his death and that of his wife, record other examples of the Minister working from sketches by Williams.⁶³

The dating of some sheets, such as Beeches in Knowle Park, Kent Aug. 1826, suggest that Williams had the album in his possession until very shortly before his death.

One large drawing on blue paper, Subiaco [PC](**Figure 2: 18**) was associated with the album. It was too large [42.5 x 90.5 cms. - 16.75 x 35.5 inches] to be tipped in and had been laid down on card, in two halves. Each half had a strip of paper added at the lower edge, possibly to accommodate the vigorous foreground repoussoir. The drawing, in its original condition, showed distinct signs of having been traced, but these impressions were unfortunately lost when the sheets were conserved and re-laid on a single card mount. A small, full watercolour version of the same subject was apparently made.⁶⁴

Tracing was only one method used by Williams to transfer sketches made on the spot into large watercolours. One drawing Roman Forum - Temple of Antoninus & Faustina [PC] had been squared up for enlargement. It would be interesting to know if a large version of this composition exists because the grid is anything but regular, which suggests, surprisingly, that the artist did not fully understand the technique he was using. This would be difficult to credit and the grid may have been applied by another hand, but it might also go some way towards explaining the difficulties Williams had later with perspective, before calling on the assistance of C. R. Cockerell.⁶⁵

The greatest service the De la Hanty album performed was to provide some evidence for the exact route taken by Williams and Douglas on their return journey and this has been considered at the end of Chapter 1:6. For the outward journey, the drawings correspond closely to the account published by Williams, in 1820 as Travels in Italy, Greece and the Ionian Islands. There are discrepancies with dates, which suggest that some of the sheets may have been dated later. This is most obvious in the two sheets Hugomont from the West and East Entrance to Hugomont [both dated 18th June 1816, both PC] - the site of the Battle of Waterloo. The drawings correspond to Williams' published comments about the burial mounds at the side of the road and his description of drawing the village of Waterloo as it appeared through the trees at the end of the road, has been discussed in Chapter 1:6, (**Figure 1: 18**). There is no

doubt that they are his work. However, the dates on these drawings are incorrect as Williams and Douglas left London on the 6th July 1816. They left Brussels on the 11th July and arrived at Cologne on the 13th, **'having visited the awful field of Waterloo'**.⁶⁶ This suggests that it was not simply a matter of transposing the month, but that the dates were added later, from memory. The 18th June 1816 is closer to the first anniversary of the battle and Williams may have mis-remembered visiting the site on the anniversary. There are no grounds for suspecting any of the other dates, as they generally correspond to the timetable Williams records in his account of the tour, in his Travels in Italy Greece and the Ionian Islands.

As only one drawing in chalk [category III] is known it is difficult to place this in the artist's output. However, as it can be dated to around 1815, this too may represent the interest in texture, seen in his pencil drawings and watercolours.

Drawing lies at the very heart of Williams' work. He was a complete master of the use of line, from the almost imperceptible under-drawing in his large watercolours to the vigorous enthusiasm of his waterfall studies. There are no known works without preliminary under-drawing. In this Williams follows the Continental, and by extension, the Scottish tradition, possibly passed to him by Louis Ruffini and certainly by David Allan.

2.5. *Oil Paintings.*

In April 1810, Jessie Harden visited Henry Raeburn's house, to see the third Exhibition of the Associated Artists of Edinburgh:

Williams has some paintings there which are wonderfully well for the time he has taken up oils, only five months, but by no means equal to his watercolours, which he now seems tired of.⁶⁷

It has only been possible to guess at which of the four works he exhibited that year [See Appendix I] may have been in oil. It may have been a View of the Cathedral of Durham [No. 154] which attracted an extensive review in the Edinburgh Evening Courant, followed by the comment 'We are glad to see this artist painting in oil'.⁶⁸ To précis the reference, the work was described as an old wood, seen from below with the Cathedral above. The evening light cast long shadows and the reviewer commented on the agitated nature of the clouds with the tower rising through the light. Figures were noted bathing, presumably in the foreground.

As there are only two known examples by Williams in oil it is this type of research in secondary sources which will possibly lead to others. Of the known works, the Falls of the Braan [RSA] (Cat. No. OP. 1) is one of a pair presented to the RSA in 1875, the other having been lost. A watercolour version of the same view exists in a private collection, the only differences being the height of the viewer and the angle of the light. In the watercolour, presumably painted in summer or at midday, the light is virtually overhead and the viewer is at the lower level of the river. In the oil, the light comes from the right, leaving the water as a bright highlight as it cascades into a bowl of deep shadow, beneath the viewer. The distant mountains and trees glow in the fading light. Indeed, the oil is a much better work in terms of the way it creates distance. The shadow areas are painted thickly, with tone built up in layers of colour and the surface of the work is crackled where Williams must have used bitumen for the darkest shadows. In the watercolour of the same subject he uses Indian ink for these areas. In technique [including the use of bitumen] it could very easily be mistaken for the work of the Rev. John Thomson of Duddingston, an indication of where further research might lead.

The other work is the large, Castle Urquhart, Lochness [c.1827, NGS](Cat. No. OP. 2), presented to the National Gallery by the artist's widow in 1859. It too shows evidence of the use of bitumen and once again is close to Thomson in style.

It is interesting that Williams (or his widow) did not ensure that more of his oils found their way into the National collection and it must be assumed that he did not have a high opinion of these works. This assumption is strengthened by the fact that there were only three works in oil in the artist's posthumous sale [Lots. 408, 409 and 419]. In the Catalogue preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum, Lot 409 has an MSS note suggesting that it was by the Rev, John Thomson of Duddingston, perhaps the earliest example of the confusion hinted at above. Lots 436-438 were described as 'large canvas, Outline for a view'.

Williams did undoubtedly paint a number of oil pictures. Grant [1926] illustrates an oil canvas now untraced and comments:

Whilst the drawings of H. W. Williams are amongst the standards of British Water Colour, his work in oils is almost negligible both from its rarity and its lack of individual characteristic. Whilst he himself made no claim in this direction, his comparative failure therein was remarked by his friends. Quoth the Shepherd - "It's impossible to excel Williams - in his ain style - but he should leave the iles and keep to water colours". Williams accordingly "left the iles", and few and far between are his canvases. In those which we have seen the conclusion is almost inevitable that they are late pieces, and would never have been undertaken but for the influence of Turner. Williams may have met the great man on one or other of his raids across the border; but whether he did so or not, he must assuredly have met with his paintings, so emulative are his own of Turner's opening fantasies of the eighteen twenties. They differ so totally both in conception and execution from Williams' normal work in water colour, that there is difficulty in believing them from the same hand. Nor was Williams himself satisfied with them, judging by their extreme infrequency, and their usual condition of unfinish. Of this nature we have seen some large studies on canvas done about the home of his wife, by Garnock Water, wherein Williams' usual russets are replaced by high and hazy greens, and his careful drawing by an attempt at drama which sits uneasily upon the very commonplace dwellings and roadsides which are the subjects of his experiments. An alleged example is the somewhat flimsy and confused landscape of the *Glasgow Art Gallery*, the decent technique of which is small compensation for a vagueness which does not rise to mystery or romance.⁶⁹

Grant listed the work he describes, Landscape with a Lake in the Glasgow Art Gallery, which the present author does not consider to be the work of Hugh Williams (See Cat. No. DA. 18). He had obviously seen some interesting works - none of which, except the Glasgow picture, have been traced - and his opinion is useful if perhaps too dismissive.

There are scattered references to works in oil by Williams and typical are the two pictures mentioned in the sale of Col. Fraser, held on the 24th January 1857 in Edinburgh:

“Lot 38 View on the East Coast of Scotland one of the few pictures painted by this eminent master in oils.

Lot 76 Landscape and Figures, a sketch in oils”.⁷⁰

In addition to the work seen by Jessie Harden in 1810, Williams exhibited a further oil The Ghost's Glen - Loch Katrine, with the Associated Artists in the following year [No. 10].⁷¹ He also exhibited oils with the Royal Institution for the Encouragement of the Arts in Scotland, in 1826; No. 91 Restoration of a Greek Town, Island of Salamis, and in 1827; No. 17 River Scenery, No. 108, Scene near Ariano, Calabria and No. 117 Rock Scenery. These last three were stated to be in the ‘Venetian manner’, which suggests that they were oils. In his one man exhibition in 1826 he exhibited another oil, No. 37 Grecian Landscape in oil which may have been the same Restoration of a Greek Town, exhibited with the Royal Institution in that year.

2:6. *Summary.*

This Chapter began with a recognition of the difficulties in discussing watercolour and that there are dangers in trying to pin down methods of execution in such a fluid medium. This is all the more so when an artist appears to use a method which is not strictly in keeping with published treatises. However, the restrained red, blue and yellow method has been shown to exist and can be seen very clearly in the work of Hugh Williams and others. It would be inappropriate to extrapolate the conclusions reached here any further, without a close examination of a larger sample of works by other artists. Having said this, the technique identified here for the first time, may serve as a helpful diagnostic tool.

Appreciation of the work of Hugh Williams has been hampered by the published emphasis on his Greek views. The fact, revealed by this research, that at least two thirds of his output consists of Scottish scenery, must alter the popular view. Not only this, but it has been made clear that his large Scottish views are in many cases, the earliest full colour depictions, from nature of the scenes in question. This confirms the opinion that Williams was a leading figure in the Scottish picturesque movement. The reinterpretation of Algernon Graves’ [1905-6]

entries on J. F. Williams, where he obscures the two occasions on which Hugh Williams exhibited at the Royal Academy in London, is an important development. It allows the suggestion that Williams was already beginning to make a reputation in London well before his journey to Greece. It also allows otherwise impossible connections to be made, the most significant being that J. M. W. Turner visited Scotland shortly after both occasions, with repercussions for his own work.

The evidence presented in the new biography and in the discussion of the artist's methods has, at least, set the record straight. It is now clear that from his earliest work, Hugh Williams was a topographer. This enthusiasm was encouraged by his training - an element of which may have been military. His strict topographical instinct was tempered, as his career progressed, by the pressures of the picturesque movement and by a natural desire to change. It led to work with larger figures and to remarkable experiments with unadorned landscape, devoid of the theatrical repoussoirs. His experiments with the oil medium were perhaps just a diversion, but when more is known about this part of his output, it may be possible to show that it led to the more straightforward treatment of subject.

Most of these experiments, which promised so much, were suppressed after the artist's tour of the Continent and his subsequent devotion to large views of Greek subjects. The pressures of the picturesque movement and the demands of his audience drove him back to the large, theatrical watercolour and into competition with oil paintings. His large topographical views of Greece were not without influence and their most immediate effect was to enthuse his fellow citizens with a taste for the Greek in their public architecture. His work supplied the colour and association for an audience already acquainted with the superb but clinically accurate engravings of Stuart and Revett, and Le Roy.⁷² The effect of the large views of Greece on the development of watercolour technique was limited - in the same way that the large, and to some extent, overblown exhibition watercolours, by all artists of the period, were something of a cul de sac. The exhibition of his watercolours, from all periods of his output, in the new National Gallery of Scotland from 1859, did however revive interest in the technique, never as widely practised in Scotland as in England. Hugh Williams was the only Scottish watercolorist to rival the output of his English contemporaries in the Nineteenth century.

- 1 WILTON, Andrew and LYLES, Anne: The Great Age of British Watercolours 1750-1880 London [1994] p. 11.
- 2 McKAY, William D.: The Scottish School of Painting London [1906] p. 193.
- 3 CAW, James L.: Scottish Painting Past and Present 1620-1908 London [1908] p. 152.
- 4 TONGE, John: The Arts of Scotland. London [1938] pp. 76-7.
- 5 BRYDALL, Robert: Art in Scotland Edinburgh [1889] p. 302 fn. 1.
- 6 Op. Cit. CAW [1908] p. 151.
- 7 Op. Cit. HARDIE [1967] Vol. III, p. 176.
- 8 GAGE, John: Colour in Turner, Poetry and Truth London [1969] p. 9.
- 9 ANONYMOUS [Charles Buchanan?]: Compliments to Painters of Eminence, natives of Scotland.. Edinburgh [1797]. p. 37. [The copy in the School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh is inscribed 'Charles Buchanan' in pencil on the title page].
- 10 Scots Magazine, February 1822, p. 239(b) to 443(a).
- 11 BRYDALL, Robert: Art in Scotland, its Origin and Progress. Edinburgh and London [1889], p. 300.
- 12 Op. Cit. CAW [1908] p 152.
- 13 Op. Cit. HARDIE [1967] Vol. III, p. 176.
- 14 Op. Cit. TONGE [1938], pp. 76-7.
- 15 Nos. 1 Ainslie Place, 11 Ainslie Place and 8 Randolph Crescent. In all, there are probably less than two dozen watercolours world-wide whose condition could be described as excellent, out of an enormous output. Fourteen of these, seen, appear in the attached Catalogue (See Nos. W. 7, 8, 34, 37, 48, 59, 61, 67, 72, 73, 74, 75, 91 and 95).
- 16 WILLIAMS, Iolo A. : Early English Watercolours. London [1952] p. 65.
- 17 A case can probably be made for institutions such as the National Galleries not to exhibit watercolours which are very badly faded, because of the distorted view they present. Certainly, few galleries would today exhibit oil paintings which were executed with bitumen as a base and have thus deteriorated beyond appreciation. It is a remarkable fact that most faded watercolours reproduce very well in black and white - a factor which could ensure that faded watercolours receive their due, even if they are not exhibited.
- 18 The dedication of the temple is still a matter of conjecture. Williams exhibited the picture in 1828 with the title Promontory of Sunium from the Sea, and had it published in the same year with the same title (Cat No. P. 137). The temple, seen from the landward side, had been published in 1824 with the title Temple of Minerva Sunias Cape Colonna (Cat No. P. 105).
- 19 Op. Cit HARDIE [1967] p. 177. Williams did have a style for engraving. These works tend to be small and executed in sepia wash. The one for The Temple of Poseidon, Cape Sunion, was etched by William Miller in February 1828. It survives in fine condition in a private collection in Canada and measures approximately 7 x 12 inches. (For other works made for publication, see Cat Nos. W. 70, 91, 93, 108 and 124).
- 20 Victoria and Albert Museum: MSS 86 KK Box III, IV. 'Method of drawing in Watercolours as Practised by Mr. Williams', dated 17th June 1811. **"Copied from Mr. Williams's manuscript by me, 5th November 1811, Tho. Lauder Dick"**. Reprinted in full in HALSBY, Julian: Scottish Watercolours 1740-1940. London [1986] pp. 43-5.
- 21 University Library, Cambridge: Add. MSS 6305. pp. 14-21.
- 22 There is no evidence that Playfair purchased the painting but three framed and glazed views in the Highlands formed part of his posthumous sale in 1858 [Lots 18-20]. See. NISBET, Thomas: Edinburgh Catalogue of the valuable Cabinet of Pictures & Engravings of the late W. H. Playfair, Esq., Architect. [1858], 16th January (W. H. Playfair), Lots 12-20. (A. Macbean), Lots 38-150. (NLS).
- 23 Scottish Record Office (East): GD 18/5547/1 and 2. Letter from John Clerk of Eldin to Mrs. Rutherford Edgerton, dated October 1793.
- 24 Op. Cit. HASSELL [1823] p. 16.
- 25 BELL, Henry: An Historical Essay on the Original of Painting London [1728] p. 66. Quoting an earlier commentary on Pliny the Elder, Bell publishes what must be the earliest plea to abandon or reduce line in favour of colour - **'in a coloured Picture, or Painting there is so little Use of Lines, that the very appearance of any is justly reproveable'**.

- 26 BOWLES, Carington: The Art of Painting in water colours: Exemplified in Landscape, Flowers etc. London [1797] p. 18.
- 27 HASSELL, John: The Camera: or, Art of Drawing in water colours; with Instructions for Sketching from Nature etc. London [1823], p.19.
- 28 I am assured by Mr. Henry Nolti, Royal Botanical Gardens, Edinburgh, that there is no species of tree, native to the area in question, which could appear powder blue.
- 29 JEX-BLAKE, K. and SELLERS, E, eds.: The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art Chicago [1968] p. 97.
- 30 IRWIN, Francina: 'Scottish Eighteenth-century Chintz and its Design' in The Burlington Magazine Vol. CVII Sept. 1965 (Part I), pp. 452-458; and October 1965 (Part II), pp. 510-514. Irwin gives a footnote observation on 'pencillers' - **"The women who brushed in the blues and sometimes the yellows when these were not printed. Before the discovery of a green that could be printed all greens were 'double', i.e. blue pencilled over yellow"**.
- 31 See 'The Use of Indigo. Turner's Drawings' in Turner Studies Vol. 4, No. 1, Summer [1984], pp. 25-6. Article by M. I. H., reprinted from The Builder, 24th October 1857, p. 609.
- 32 HALSBY, Julian: Scottish Watercolours 1740-1940. London [1986] p. 40.
- 33 WILLIAMS, Hugh William: Travels in Italy, Greece and the Ionian Islands Edinburgh [1820], Vol. II, p. 73.
- 34 National Library of Scotland: MSS 8854, Journal of Jessie Harden.
- 35 Reproduced in Country Life Magazine, 4th November 1971, Supplement, p. 30. There is a view, of St. Blaise Castle near Bristol, in private hands, which is apparently dated 1782, but as Williams would have been aged 11 then this can probably be ignored. The work appears in style to be of around 1795.
- 36 Op. Cit. WILLIAMS [1952] p. 65.
- 37 HERRMANN, Luke: Paul and Thomas Sandby London [1986] p. 34.
- 38 ANDREWS, Malcolm: The Search for the Picturesque Aldershot [1989] p. 209.
- 39 Reprinted in, COOKSEY, J. C. B. : Alexander Nasmyth HRSA. 1758-1840. Whittinghame House [1991] p. 63, along with David Roberts' description of the same scene.
- 40 HOLLOWAY, James and ERRINGTON, Lindsay: The Discovery of Scotland Edinburgh [1978]. Illustrated, p. 5.
- 41 GILPIN, William: Observations relative chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, made in the year 1772, on several Parts of England; particularly the Mountains and Lakes of Cumberland and Westmorland London [1786].
- 42 There are probably only half a dozen works by Williams in this format, those towards the end of his career insisted upon by the publishers of his Select Views in Greece.
- 43 GRAVES, Algernon: The Royal Academy of Arts: a complete dictionary of the contributors and their work, from its foundation in 1769 to 1904. London [1905-6]. Eight Volumes, Vol. VII [1906], pp. 287(b), 293(b).
- 44 GILPIN, William: Observations, relative chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, Made in the Year 1776, on Several Parts of Great Britain; particularly the High-Lands of Scotland London [1789].
- 45 Edinburgh Review No. XXXV, May 1811, pp. 13-15. This description is so close to the watercolour and the aquatint in feeling that its author [Professor John Wilson?] may have seen the works. This would mean that the watercolour was painted, possibly in the Summer of 1811 and shown early the following year. The aquatint was not published until December 1813, but we do not know when Williams first included the eagle in the composition.
- 46 York Place was a haven for Scottish artists and architects. Henry Raeburn built himself a house at No. 16, as did Alexander Nasmyth at No. 43, on the opposite side of the street. Thomas Hamilton the architect lived at No. 47 and Hugh Williams lived, until 1816, just around the corner, first at 10 and then 23 Duke Street. Many other artists lived nearby in St. James' Square. See the list of addresses in the Catalogues of the Associated Artists (Edinburgh), 1808-1816.
- 47 Op. Cit. Edinburgh Review.
- 48 Bearing in mind that Hugh Williams was born into a Devonshire family who were living in Honiton in 1771, 1772 and 1778 when their children were baptised; who had a niece, Elizabeth Wilson White and whose mother is said to have been a member of the Lewis family, it is of interest that Francis Towne's greatest friend was James White and that his

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- will, according to Adrian Bury (p. 26), mentions a Mr. and Mrs. Louis and another member of the Louis family.
- 49 Op. Cit. BURY: p. 72-3.
- 50 CHRISTIES, London. Sale Catalogue for 12th November 1991, Lots 10-13.
- 51 See GOWING, Laurence: The Originality of Thomas Jones. London [1985].
- 52 MUNRO, Jane: British Landscape Watercolours 1750-1850 Cambridge [1994] p. 56.
- 53 Leeds University Library: MSS 194/2/51. Letter from Hugh Williams to Benjamin Gott, dated 9th June 1822. In a following letter (MSS 194/2/52), Williams apologised for having to charge 70 Guineas for the watercolour - such was its complexity.
- 54 For a good discussion of this subject see: BAYARD, Jane: Works of Splendour and Imagination: The Exhibition Watercolour, 1770-1870 New Haven [1981].
- 55 Royal Incorporation of British Architects Library: Journal of C. R. Cockerell. On loan from the collection of Mrs. Crighton.
- 56 DAVIES, Maurice: Turner as Professor London [1992] Chapter 3.
- 57 The provenance of this album has been impossible to trace exactly. It was apparently offered for auction sale in London in the 1980's and purchased by Steven Somerville. He offered the entire collection to the National Galleries of Scotland, who turned it down, perhaps because of the large amount of material. I have given the album this title because it contained the book plate of Baron Dr. De la Hanty. This is presumably Baron Dr. C. Ver Heyden de Lancy, who died in 1983, and who was a Dental Surgeon and a member of Lincoln's Inn Fields. He had lived in Italy and had married Josephine De la Hanty just prior to World War II. [Private information from the Hon. Secretary, The De Lancey & De La Hanty Foundation, 1988 and 1991.]
- 58 CHRISTIES, London, 8th June 1976, Lot. 54. Photograph at Paul Mellon Center, London, Negative No. 76/205*.
- 59 TAIT, C. B.: Catalogue of Sketches, Drawings, Prints and Pictures...being a portion of the works of the late Hugh William Williams. Edinburgh [1831], 2nd Edition, corrected. 7th to 12th and 14th February.
- 60 Studies of Trees was presented to the National Galleries of Scotland by Miss Peggy Notman in 1991. It is part of a larger group, some of which are watermarked or dated to the 1820's. For this reason and until further evidence presents itself, the whole group has been assumed to be late works
- 61 STEVEN SOMERVILLE LTD. : Exhibition of Watercolours, Drawings and Paintings London, 22nd June - 15th July [1988] Nos. 21-23. Illustrated in colour. Published information from the present author.
- 62 GAGE, John: Colour in Turner Poetry and Truth London [1969] p. 32.
- 63 NAPIER, Robert W. : John Thomson of Duddingston, Landscape Painter Edinburgh [1919] pp. 447, 508, 518 and 523.
- 64 It was in the collection of S. Rowland Pierce [previously in the collection of Admiral R. S. Robertson, purchased by Pierce in 1961] and was exhibited at The Brighton Art Gallery in 1961 (No. 119). It measured just over 12 x 17 inches which suggests that it was not the result of a tracing from this drawing.
- 65 The squares indicated along the lower right corner are simply not square. They vary in size from two and a half, to two and three quarter inches.
- 66 WILLIAMS, H. W. : Travels in Italy, Greece and the Ionian Islands Edinburgh [1820] Vol. I, p. 15.
- 67 National Library of Scotland: MSS. 8832-73. Journal of Jessie Harden.
- 68 Edinburgh Evening Courant, 26th April 1810, p. 3(c).
- 69 GRANT, Maurice Harold: A Chronological History of the Old English Landscape Painters (in oil). London [1926] Two Volumes. Vol. II, pp. 220-21. Pl. 132(top).
- 70 NISBET, Thomas: Edinburgh [1857], 24th January (Col. P. S. Fraser), Lots 38 [oil], 76 [oil].
- 71 Caledonian Mercury, 13th April 1811, p. 3. Refers to the picture as an oil landscape.
- 72 STUART, James and REVETT, Nicholas: Antiquities of Athens London [from 1762]. Also Le ROY, J. D.: Les Ruines des plus beau monuments de la Grece Paris [1758].

Chapter 3.

HUGH WILLIAMS AND PRINTMAKING.

3:1 *Introduction.*

Hugh Williams used printing techniques as a means of artistic expression from very early in his career. The most interesting aspect of his involvement is the degree to which he controlled the process and this will be followed throughout his career. The artist's activities are complex. His output can however be divided into three categories, to be dealt with in each of the following sections; Section 3:2. Prints made by the artist, using his own designs - all etchings; Section 3:3. Prints made by others after designs by the artist, which were commissioned by others and printed and published by them and Section 3:4. Prints made by others after designs by the artist but executed under his direct supervision. A group of the last type, the six aquatints of Scottish Scenery, were also published by the artist. The following discussion will refer to the attached Catalogue, Part V, which lists all of the known prints by Hugh Williams and those made after his work by other plate makers. It must be said at the outset that work on the prints of Hugh Williams is still at an early stage. It has not been possible to make authoritative statements about 'states' of various prints because the number of examples examined has been too few. Only one copy of the Select Views in Greece in the Large paper - that in the Benaki Museum - has been traced and none of the Folio size. The attached Catalogue of Prints can only be regarded as a preliminary step.

Before examining the prints in all three categories it is necessary to mention two projects which, as they were unrealised, do not fit easily into this grouping. This first was a proposal to illustrate a poem by Thomas Campbell [1777-1844] and John Stoddart mentions the illustrations:

On the east of Edinburgh, the most remarkable points of view are, the ascent of Arthur's Seat, and the brow of the Calton Hill. Of the former, a most correct and admirable view has been taken by my ingenious friend, Mr. Williams, which will form an appropriate decoration to a descriptive poem, by the author of The Pleasures of Hope: In this view, the Palace of Holy Rood House, with its ruined

chapel, forms a conspicuous object, and the two towns are so intermixed, as to appear at once picturesque, and extensive.¹

The author of the Pleasures of Hope was the poet Thomas Campbell but nothing came of the publication mentioned here. William Beattie² explains that the work, projected in 1799, was to be a poem about Edinburgh entitled 'The Queen of the North' and that Williams had been commissioned to illustrate it.

the Poet was to celebrate the glory and the independence of Scotland, as recorded in history and tradition; to display in a series of martial episodes, the characters and achievements of her great men; and by the powerful aid of painting, rekindle in the national mind her ancient spirit of freedom and independence. This poem, though finely imagined, was never completed; but the plan was so far settled, that Mr. Williams, the eminent landscape painter, was engaged to illustrate the work with a series of drawings; and it was to be brought out by Mundell and Son, with more than ordinary *éclat*.³

The many tribulations, not least Campbell's guilt over his failure to complete the poem, can be followed in Beattie, but it is of interest here to consider the subjects Williams and the poet may have chosen. Stoddart had obviously seen one, of Edinburgh from Arthur's Seat, and one other, of St. Bernard's Well:

The spot most favourable, for viewing this scene, is beneath some trees, in a shelving field, near the road, which is not indeed, so accessible as it deserves to be made; but the lover of the picturesque will readily encounter some difficulty, to enjoy so exquisite a treat. It is a favourite subject with every artist of taste: my companion was particularly delighted in sketching it; and it has given occasion for a display of united talent, to the pencil of Mr. Williams and the pen of Mr. Campbell.⁴

Campbell left for a year on the Continent in June 1800 and tried hard to keep up his interest in the poem. Writing to John Richardson in December 1800 he asked him to:

look westward from Charlotte Street, and tell me what the principal scenes, or if connected with anything describable. Do see the same from the *west*. Is Benledi or Benlomond visible? What can be said of that view? Look from the castle and see what views it can possibly afford? What is there remarkable about the Abbey? and where is the place of 'refuge'? Roslin Castle - try my dear friend, what can be done with that.⁵

Some of the subjects had certainly reached the stage of being engraved. In September 1800 Campbell wrote to Williams "to authorise the continuance of our plates - to pledge the appearance of the Poem - to solicit his patience for a little"⁶ and by November of the same year he had heard from Williams to say that "they would not be finished this year".⁷ No identified engravings, after Williams, for any of these subjects are known. Williams appears to

have remained on cordial terms with Campbell although he must have been disappointed at the failure. There exists a manuscript version [private collection] of another poem by Campbell, The Exile of Erin, dated "**Edin. Feby 1802**" which is illustrated with a pen and wash drawing by Williams.⁸

Prints by and after Hugh Williams can now be examined in more detail.

3:2. *Prints by the Artist.*

In 1794 William made an etched outline: Glasgow Cathedral and Royal Infirmary from the West (Cat. No. P. 1) and it can only be presumed that he printed the etched plate himself. There are very few surviving prints from the plate and none with letters, which would suggest that he did. However, the part played by the Glasgow stationer David Niven, in whose shop the print of Glasgow Cathedral could be seen, is unknown [See the advertisement for this print, Fig. 1:11] Niven may have been the contact, for example, which led Williams to have an aquatint of Craigmillar Castle published in 1795. It was engraved by John Eginton [a gentleman with whom Niven had other dealings],⁹ for Jee and Eginton, Engravers, Print sellers and Picture-frame Makers, of Birmingham.

This demarcation of roles is quite important in understanding Williams' relationship to the printed medium, which is marked by his gradually increasing control over the final result. His attitude may have been related to his role in making designs for the printing of cloth. Francina Irwin quoting John Lettice [1793] notes the way in which there appears to have been a clear demarcation between the role of designer and printer in the bleachfields and this may have extended to a difference between designer and plate maker.

The writer likened the scenes of open-air activity to a painting by Teniers, and after observing the various printing processes he visited a workshop where 'twenty young artists were engraving patterns upon blocks of wood'. He was told that the 'Pattern-drawers, retained in this establishment, chiefly pursue their business at home. They ought to possess an inventive talent, and that is best exercised in retirement and solitude.'¹⁰

Williams made signed proof prints of Etchings of Local Subjects - intended to assist in the Study of Nature, (Cat. No. P. 8-16) which were then printed by P. Garof, an Edinburgh Printseller, at various dates between 1801 and 1814.

3:2.1. *Etchings of Local Subjects.*

In 1801 John Stoddart referred to Williams at work in Hamilton Wood, near Glasgow:

Hamilton wood has some of the finest and most picturesque old oaks in Britain; it is far richer than Windsor, in forest scenery; and affords an inexhaustible fund of study to the painter. In speaking thus, I do not rely on the transient view which I

had of it; but on the opinion of my friend Mr. Williams, and on most convincing proofs, afforded by his pencil.¹¹

This must refer to the preparatory work Williams made for his Etchings of Local Subjects - intended to assist in the Study of Nature, published in Edinburgh in 1801. The etchings fall into the period when Williams moved from the west to the east coast and indeed, the Scotsman's report of his activities around Edinburgh in 1801, is the first indication that he had settled on the east coast, for good, as it turned out.

It is with pleasure, we understand, that Mr. Williams, of this place, is just now employing his evenings in etching a few select local subjects, which he hopes to present to the public...¹²

On the 24th April 1801 an advertisement for the etchings appeared:

This day is published, (Price One Guinea in Boards). Dedicated to the Rt. Hon. Lady Frances Douglas. Etchings of Local Subjects - intended to assist in the study of nature, by Hugh William Williams, Edinburgh. Published for the author and sold by Manners and Miller, Parliament Sq. and P. Garof, Printseller, Hanover St.¹³

Only one complete set, in boards, in the Library of the RSA is presently known, the 16 etchings there dated 1808 and dedicated to the Rt. Hon. Lady Charlotte Hope. It is this set which has been photographed for the attached Catalogue, Part V.

The Print Room of the British Museum holds a set of artist's proofs of some of these etchings, with additions in Indian ink and white bodycolour. That of Craigmillar Castle, for example, shows alterations. The Museum set is bound in a soft paper cover and each etching is mounted [tipped] on a support on which the title is inscribed in pencil. Most are also signed on the mount by Williams. The Print Room also has a number of loose etchings, which from the visible evidence, may have been taken from bound sets. One of these (1875.4.10.127) is engraved "Publ. by P. Garof, Edinburgh. 1st Jan 1814." which suggests that there may have been at least three separate publications. [No surviving examples are known of the 1801 publication, and the Album in the Royal Scottish Academy was published in 1808].

It may well be that another group of etchings, from much larger plates, and again represented in the British Museum by a group of artist's proofs, were in fact published, but in insufficient numbers to have survived. Certainly a Title page inscribed "Six Etchings of Local Subjects. From Nature by H.W.Williams" survives with this proof set.¹⁴

Williams made other etchings which were not apparently published - a portrait of a young woman reading, in 1811 (**Cat. No. P. 31.**) and an undated etching after Ruysdael (**Cat. No. P. 32.**).

3:3. *Prints after designs by Williams, Made and Published by Others.*

Of the works to be discussed in this Section, the four aquatints by Mergiot after Williams, for John Stoddart, clearly demonstrate the pitfalls of unsupervised publication by others. They were poorly produced in almost all respects. As they were printed in London, it was probably impossible for Williams to have much control over the final result. The same may be said of the engraving, Fall of the River Ogwen, North Wales, which appeared in Britton's Beauties of England and Wales [1812](Cat. No. P. 34.).¹⁵ This too was published in London. However, even work produced locally appears to have presented difficulties and specific evidence exists to demonstrate the lack of control Williams had over the thirty etchings made by Robert Scott for the Scots Magazine between 1804 and 1813 (Cat. Nos. P. 41-70). This will be discussed in Section 3:3.2.

There exists a remarkable example of how little control an artist had over his work, in a print published after a drawing by Williams, but by a circuitous route. In 1802 Williams undertook his first commission for (Sir) Walter Scott. Scott's version of the commission is as amusing as it is instructive, particularly for those who imagine that attribution is a straightforward matter. The etching, Hermitage Castle, Liddesdale, Roxburghshire (Cat. No. P. 7.) appeared as a frontispiece to Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border [1802] Volume I, and is inscribed "Williams del. Walker Sculp." In his Journal for 1st March 1826 Scott wrote:

Going down to Liddesdale once, I drew the Castle of Hermitage in my fashion, and sketched it so accurately that, with a few verbal instructions, Clerk put it into regular form, Williams (the Grecian) copied over Clerk's and his drawing was engraved.

A watercolour version of this subject by Williams, presently glued to a draught screen and thus probably not the drawing in question, has been discussed earlier on p. 79.

There is one example within this category of what may have been a further unrealised project. This is the mezzotint by R. Hodgetts after Williams, Merchiston Castle [EPL](Cat. No.

P. 152), which may have been the first print in a series Williams planned in 1826, when he wrote to Andrew Geddes in London:

Hodgetts, the Mezzotinto Engraver is here with the intention of remaining among us. I believe he will be employed by J. Watson & others & I think of getting up a small Studiorum.¹⁶

Hodgetts had made three plates for J. M. W. Turner's Liber Studiorum which began in 1807.

3:3.1. *Stoddart's 'Remarks on Local Scenery'.*

A group of four aquatints, by Mergiot after Williams, appeared in John Stoddart's Remarks on Local Scenery and Manners in Scotland [1801]. These were, Gilmerton Quarry, Dunira, Kilchurn Castle and Birnam Wood (Cat. Nos. P. 3-6).¹⁷ One of these, Birnam Wood can be related to two known watercolours, presently at Yale and the Whitworth Art Gallery (Cat. Nos. W. 28 and 29). If the aquatint of Dunira is related to the watercolour of that title, dated 1804 (Figure 2: 1), then it represents a wild re-drawing of the original. There were two publications, one in colours and the other in sepia, both of which have a coarseness of technique, which the artist cannot have found satisfying and indeed, Stoddart himself draws attention to their short-comings in the text. One other plate [Vol. II, opp. p. 279.] is signed 'Girton' and is related to a watercolour, Eildon Hills [1800] by Thomas Girtin, in the Fitzwilliam Museum. Girtin and Loshak [1954] suggest that Stoddart may have acquired this through the Earl of Buchan¹⁸ but the possibility of a meeting between Williams and Girton at this date cannot be discounted. The Earl of Buchan can be associated with Williams in 1815 in a manner which suggests that they had been friends for some time. Williams recounted to his friend the Rev. William MacGregor Stirling how the eccentric Earl had burst into his bedroom on a Thursday morning at 8 am, demanding to know where he could contact Stirling!¹⁹

3:3.2 *The Scots Magazine.*

In December 1803 the Edinburgh Magazine, founded in 1785 and edited by (Sir) David Brewster from 1802, merged with and took the title of, Archibald Constable's monthly periodical, the Scots Magazine. Brewster continued as the editor of the combined titles until at

least 1807. Before the edition of January 1804, illustrations of any kind were rare, but the new venture required new ideas, and that issue contained for the first time a topographical engraving as a frontispiece. The illustration, View of Dundee from the West, from a "**Capital Drawing by H.W.Williams, in the Possession of David Hunter of Blackness**", [original untraced] began a tradition which carried on until the publication reverted to one of its original titles, the Edinburgh Magazine and Literary Miscellany, in July 1817. After this it was un-illustrated.

Williams provided a total of 31 views between 1804 and 1817 which formed Frontispiece illustrations to each monthly issue of the Magazine (Cat. Nos. P. 41 to P. 70). They are all by Robert Scott [1771-1841], an engraver who was also a topographical artist.²⁰

Williams had little control over the images once they were submitted to the publisher and with regard to Melrose Abbey [1804](Cat. No. P. 43) the Editor pointed out that '**In the view which we have been given a few trees were added, to heighten the effect; in every other respect it is accurate**'. Williams may have submitted a drawing of this subject (Cat. No. D. 10), with the intention of allowing changes, but his entire involvement with the Magazine lacks the commitment evident in his six aquatints of Scottish scenery [1813](Cat Nos. P. 35-40) and his meticulously controlled Select Views in Greece [1823-29]. As a further example, the original drawing in pencil and sepia wash for Elcho Castle, Distance Kinfauns & Hill of Kinnoull (Cat Nos. P. 66 and W. 70), is so uninspiring and so unlike his other watercolours, that it was long thought to be the work of Patrick Gibson [1782-1829]. It is in pencil and sepia wash. Williams would later refine this method and execute almost all work destined for publication in pen and ink with sepia wash, occasionally touched with white bodycolour. It may be that he determined on this method as a result of his early experiences with the Scots Magazine, where he discovered that it was necessary to be very precise in the outline, in order to make his intentions clear. Certainly later, in his correspondence with William Miller, where he asked the engraver to re-work plates made by others - most notably W. H. Lizars [1788-1859] - it is the detail and feeling which is of paramount importance to him.²¹

Williams also provided an illustration for a Journal of a Tour and Residence in Great Britain during the years 1811 and 1812. London [1815], by Louis Simond, but it appeared

under Simond's name, engraved by I [i.e. J.] Clark. An aquatint, it appeared after p. 305 and is entitled Fingals Tomb.²²

3:3.3. *Walter Scott's 'Provincial Antiquities'*

No sooner had Williams arrived back in Scotland in 1818, after his 28 month Grand Tour, than he was engaged in producing a plate for (Sir) Walter Scott's Provincial Antiquities. The publication was proposed by Scott and he and Edward Blore, the architect, the Rev. John Thomson of Duddingston and J. M. W. Turner, artists and George Cooke, Henry Le Keux and William Lizars, Engravers, became shareholders. Blore appears to have undertaken the management of the project but without apparently any editorial control over Scott. During Turner's visit to Scotland in the Autumn of 1818, four other artists, A. W. Calcott, Alexander Nasmyth, J. C. Schetkey and Hugh Williams, were asked to contribute but not to be shareholders.

Gerald Finley has published a number of articles on the Provincial Antiquities, but it is clear from his general conclusions that he has never seen a full set of the publication in its original fascicules.²³ The project was not a success and Finley suggests that this was a result of the depression in the economy at the time. This may be the case, but the manner of publication did not help. The fault is to be found in the attitude of the prime mover in the scheme, Walter Scott. Even a cursory glance at the advertisements which appeared on the covers of the fascicules, alerting subscribers to the contents of the following part, reveal what must have been an annoying lack of discipline.

As an example, Part II, proposed for November 1819, contained a slip, dated 1st January 1820, stating that an accident had occurred in the finishing of the plate West Entrance to Holyrood Chapel, and that its publication had been postponed until the next part, "**when it will be given in addition to the usual subjects**" When it came, the text to Part III contained a lengthy discourse by Scott, on the Regalia of Scotland, for which there was no plate, and with a note saying that there had not been enough space to consider the Palace and Abbey of Holyrood House. It went on "**It is only necessary here to mention ...that the last Plate**

represents the beautiful entrance to Holyroodhouse Chapel from the west". In fact, the engraving of the West Entrance did not appear until Part IV, in November 1820 and the text which was to accompany it, when it arrived in Part V, amounted to only a few lines of letterpress:

The great beauty of the Gothic Gate-way will be better judged from Mr. Blore's very accurate representation than from any description which could be given in words.

This cavalier attitude continued in Part IV, with the letter-press for all the plates being postponed and replaced by the concluding part of Scott's long article on the Regalia.

As well a lack of editorial control, the publication had no artistic direction. Williams' view of Borthwick Castle, appeared in Part III, published on the 1st August 1819; *after* Turner's much more romantic evocation of the same subject in Part I. There are other examples, but as they do not have any bearing on the work of Williams, it is only necessary to mention J. C. Schetky's drawing of Hawthornden which made a very poor engraving in Part VII; two thirds of the plate taken up with a black cliff, lacking in any detail. The publication ceased with Part X in 1826.

3:4. *Prints after designs by Williams, Made under his Supervision.*

Prints executed directly under the artist's supervision represent the largest group of such works. The earliest prints in this group are the six large aquatints of Scottish scenery, published by the artist himself in 1813 (*Cat. No. P. 35-40*). These demonstrate two difficulties; of having an artist reproduce works which are not his own and the financial constraints of private publishing. The prints are impressive in size but do not reflect the subtlety of an original watercolour. Apparently available only in sepia, they also stood little chance of becoming popular in a market which was being flooded by large coloured aquatints of Scottish scenery.

This category also includes all of the Select Views in Greece. It will be shown later that Williams had complete and minute control of the artistic side of the plate making process in this project. He may not always have achieved the result he wanted but he did have control.

3:4.1. *Six Aquatints of Scottish Scenery.*

Williams' major publishing venture before his Grand Tour in 1816 took place in 1813, when he published six large-scale aquatints of Highland scenery. The plates, engraved by Charles Turner [1773-1857] and Frederick Christian Lewis [1779-1856], were printed in sepia ink on buff coloured paper. The subjects were; View of Dunkeld, dedicated to the Duchess Dowager of Buccleuch and Queensberry; View on the Clyde, dedicated to the Hon. Mrs Erskine of Almondale; Glen of the Trossachs, dedicated to William Douglas of Almorness & Younger of Orchardton; Kenmore on Loch Tay, dedicated to the Rt. Hon. Lady Charlotte Campbell; View of Glenco, dedicated to the Rt. Hon. Countess of Minto and lastly, Castle Campbell, dedicated to Mrs. Hamilton of Kames.

The decision to publish these prints personally, using English plate makers, is a further mark of an artist dissatisfied with local engravers [at that time] and unwilling to allow a publisher to interfere in the process. As it turned out, the figures in both View on the Clyde and View of Dunkeld (*Cat Nos. P. 36 and P. 37*) display more of the style of the engraver,

Turner, than Williams. In all six however, the brightness of a Williams landscape, particularly those of the type he executed in sepia wash, has been retained.

It would be surprising if this venture into large scale prints was either financially or artistically satisfying for Williams. Certainly, the idea was not repeated and very few of the prints survive. The fact that they were printed in sepia coloured ink on buff paper, precluded their being coloured more naturally and Williams was in direct competition with very romantic and naturalistically coloured aquatints then being produced by Joseph Farington, in 1792²⁴ and later by Robert Andrew Riddell in 1812.²⁵ Engen in his Dictionary of Victorian Engravers [1979] stated that Charles Turner's aquatint after Williams, Glen of the Trossachs, was printed in colours, but this is probably an error as none are known and so few in sepia exist.

By the time of the publication of etchings for his Select Views in Greece, beginning in 1823, Scotland could provide the printmakers Williams needed. In particular William Miller could convey not only the detail necessary, but the style of the artist, which was a much more difficult challenge.

3:4.2. *The Select Views in Greece.*

Hugh Williams's Select Views in Greece with Classical Illustrations was published in 12 parts between 1823 and 1829. The publication, which is the single most important source for an understanding of the artist's Greek watercolours, has not been the subject of any previous research. This makes it necessary to consider it in detail here. Very few examples of the fascicules or parts survive in their original covers²⁶ and no numbering is given. It is this research which has determined the sequence and numbering of the parts and their approximate dates of publication.

Parts 1-4 contained six etchings from copper plates with accompanying letter-press text. The engravings were published in a numbered sequence [shown in round brackets here] within each part, although Williams made it clear that, for the purposes of binding, he had no established order in mind.²⁷ They were published by Hurst and Robinson in London, in conjunction with Constable and Company in Edinburgh, and printed by McQueen of

Edinburgh.²⁸ The original intention was to produce only six parts, but as that number was reached at the point at which the original publisher, Hurst and Robinson became bankrupt, it is not known whether they had made a decision to continue.²⁹

The prints were available in three sizes; Imperial Octavo (12/-) Royal Quarto (£1.10.0), and Imperial Quarto (£1.11.6); the parts bound in rough paper jackets. Nagler [1924] refers to a folio edition, before letters, of which he says only twelve examples were made.³⁰ No examples of this printing are known to the present author.

In March 1823, Williams wrote to C. R. Cockerell and mentioned that he would soon be publishing the first number of his Select Views in Greece, but that a publisher had not yet been chosen.³¹ Part One probably appeared in October 1823³² and it consisted of the following six plates [the artist's spelling, although not consistent, has been used throughout this Section]:

- (1) Parthenon of Athens in its Present State
- (2) Parthenon of Athens Restored, [drawn by C. R. Cockerell]
- (3) Athens from the Hill of the Museum
- (4) Temples of Erechtheus and Minerva Polias
- (5) Ancient Sarcophagi, Plataea
- (6) Acroceraunian Promontory (Cat. Nos. P. 88-93).

In December 1822³³ Williams wrote to C. R. Cockerell about the drawing of the Restoration of the Parthenon which he had asked to retain "for six weeks" on the 29th August 1822.³⁴ This was the drawing engraved by Horsburgh, above and it gave rise to a complaint which was to dog the entire publication:

I am really ashamed at keeping your valuable draw[ing] so long but - Engravers are 'very devil for tediousness and I am sadly provoked with them.'³⁵

Part two of the Select Views, which may have been available in July 1824³⁶ contained the following plates:

- (1) Corinth, Acrocorinthus of Corinth
- (2) Thebes in Boetia
- (3) Delphi, Castalian Fountain on Mount Parnassus
- (4) Temples of Jupiter Panhellenius, Aegina
- (5) Interior of the Acropolis of Athens, from the Propylea

(6) Athens from the East (Cat. Nos. P. 94-99).

William Miller was paid 10 Guineas for the Temples of Jupiter, complete by May 1823, and an increased fee of 13 Guineas for Corinth, which had a larger image area.

The original drawings for the Select Views appear to have been uniformly executed in pencil, pen and ink with a sepia wash. The original drawing for Corinth [PC] is of interest because the etching from it is mentioned twice, in part of what must have been a lengthy correspondence between the artist and William Miller,³⁷ one of the finest plate makers in Scotland. Miller, then aged 28, etched 19 out of a total of 64 plates in the Select Views.

The first letter begins with a reference to what may have been a print after Williams, but which is not identified. The second letter refers more specifically to the etching of Corinth, the proof of which was available in April 1824 and finished the following month:

Friday Evening [27th February 1824.]³⁸

My Dear Sir.

I am extremely obliged to you for the very beautiful engraving you have had the goodness to send me by the bearer; it is perfectly exquisite, and does you the greatest honour. Indeed, I may truly say that I know of no one of the present day who has so much true feeling; nothing is misunderstood. You give a character by line to every object that seems to me surprising. Your clouds are fleecy and light, your water transparent, and your rocks firm and true to nature. Give me such an engraving of Corinth, and put your own price upon it. Where I have failed in giving my ideas delicately, I am sure you can assist, and I expect a very pretty appeal to former times through the witchery of your burin.

Good-bye.

I shall keep the print you sent me for the sake of worth and talent. believe me ever yours most truly, H. W. Williams.

[6th April 1824.]

My Dear Sir,

The proof of Corinth exceeds my expectation. I am quite delighted with it. You have completely entered into my feeling (as indeed you always do) of the subject. I feel perfectly sure that the place will lose nothing in spirit and character in the finishing. I really have nothing to say regarding the proof but that it does you honour. I really think the second number of my little work will be better than the first. Mr. Stewart has got a new subject, which he likes very much; I therefore expect something good from him. [probably Athens from the East, in Part Two] He tells me that the London Engravers were not a little surprised at seeing such excellent engravings from Auld Reekie. For my part, I suspect it will teach the conceited fellows in the Metropolis to think better of the sons of the North, yea, and to look up to them.

Yours ever,

H. W. Williams. Lose no time in finishing.

Castle Street, Tuesday [1824?]

My Dear Sir,

I have given *Thebes*, and another view of Athens (from the Propylia), to Mr. Horsburgh to do for the ensuing number of my Greek Views. Thebes is nearly done, and he is to take Athens in hand immediately. Now, as I must have an upright in every number, I have gone over the drawing of Castalian Spring with considerable care, and, as you are such a perfect hand in engraving Rocks, besides infusing a proper sentiment in your engravings, I wish you would favour me by taking the Castalian Spring in hand as soon as you have done with Corinth. It certainly is a good subject, and to give a lonely appearance, I have introduced the evening star just appearing above a horizontal cloud. You are famous at skies, and I feel quite sure that you will enter into my idea. Where I have been found to nap, you must correct me. The light tree, from being taken out with a cloth, wants spirit and the appearance of foliage. Put all to rights. This is the nature of the building to the right, a pediment supported by four pillars. [Williams included a drawing, reproduced by W. H. F. Miller] Solemnity is what I require in this view, inspiring, or attuning, the mind to reflection - to think of the past; for *Delphi*, which is the village on the left, is not to be forgotten, and when it does occur to the mind, almost demands a tear. You will see that the view is taken from an opposite height, and that the spectator is supposed to be looking down into the vale below in which the river Phistus is joined by the water of Castalia.

Ever yours most truly, H. W. Williams.

The *Tombs* [Ancient Sarcophagi, Plataea in Part 1] carry all before them.

The plate by John Horsburgh, mentioned at the beginning of this letter, Interior of the Acropolis, Athens from the Propylea exists in an engraver's proof, which has some small additional features - most notably a palm tree on the horizon at the left edge.³⁹

Part Three of the Select Views was reviewed in the London Literary Gazette on Saturday 8th January 1825.⁴⁰ It contained the following prints:

- (1) Caritena, Ancient Brenthe, on the Alpheus, Arcadia
- (2) Temple of Jupiter Panhellenius, Aegina, looking towards Hymettus
- (3) Mount Parnassus, from the Walls of Panopeus
- (4) Plain of Plataea, from Mount Cithaeron
- (5) Valley of the Plietus, from Delphi
- (6) Temple of Minerva Sunias, Cape Colonna (Cat. Nos. P. 100-105).

Again, it is known that William Miller received 12 Guineas each for the Plain of Plataea (complete by October 1824) and Caritena and that the latter was one of the plates he re-touched in 1829.⁴¹ There is also an engraver's proof, by John Horsburgh, for the Temple of Minerva Sunaias.⁴²

Part Four appears to have been available from 30th July 1825,⁴³ maintaining what had become a six month gap between the parts. It consisted of the following plates:

- (1) Mountains of Epirus, as seen from nearly opposite to Parga
- (2) Temple of Jupiter Olympius, Athens
- (3) Gulf of Lepanto, from above Patras, Ancient Patrae
- (4) Castle of Patras, Ancient Patrae
- (5) Acropolis of Athens, from near the Pnyx or Ancient Forum
- (6) Theatre of Atticus Herodes, Athens (Cat. Nos. P. 106-111).

There is an engraver's proof of the Acropolis of Athens by James Stewart in the Print Room of the British Museum. It has no figures in the foreground.

Part Five was the last published by Hurst and Robinson, and it appears to have been available from Saturday, 1st April 1826.⁴⁴ It consisted of only five engravings, which became the standard for the remainder of the publication:

- (1) The Academic Grove, Athens
- (2) Mount Oleno, Peloponnesus
- (3) Part of the Temple of Minerva, in the Acropolis of Athens
- (4) Mistra, the Ancient Sparta
- (5) Part of the Town of Livadia on the River Hercyna, Ancient Lebadia (Cat. Nos. P. 112-116).

William Miller received 17 Guineas for his plate of Mount Oleno, which was complete by October 1825, and it is interesting to see the way in which he pushed the publication forward by encouraging the use of larger plates. The size adopted here (9.6 x 14.5 cms) became almost a standard for his work in the remainder of the publication. This is also another of the plates re-touched by Miller in 1829.

The artist's pursuit of scientific truth led to difficulties with the moon in Part of the Temple of Minerva, in the Acropolis of Athens. William solved the problem by consulting (Sir) David Brewster and afterwards wrote to Miller. As always with Williams, Nature triumphs and what is seen is more important than what is strictly scientific:

[1825] My Dear Mr. Miller,

I had the pleasure of calling on you the other week, but unfortunately I did not find you at home. I wished to mention to you that having had a conversation with Dr. Brewster on the subject of the old moon in the new moon's arms, as represented in my view of the remains of the Temple of Minerva by moonlight, I wished to have a conference with you regarding it. From what he said, and indeed from my own observations since, it appears that the moon takes this appearance, viz O, not so, O. [Williams illustrates the point] The first appearance seems as if the new moon embraced the old, and does not appear to take the same line of circumference, but appears to belong to a *larger circle*. It is an ocular deception; but as it appears so in nature, when the telescope is not used, it had better be represented truly. I shall have the pleasure of calling on you soon. Meantime, ever believe me yours faithfully, H. W. Williams.

On the 8th June 1826, Williams exchanged contracts with Messrs Longman and Company to produce the remainder of the series, Hurst, Robinson and Company having been declared bankrupt.

Part Six, understandably, took some time to emerge. Ackerman's Repository noted in July 1826 that '**the 6th number will be published in the course of July**' but the London Literary Gazette, while listing the plates of the sixth, was still referring to them as in '**the forthcoming number**' in September of that year.⁴⁵ It is unlikely that they were referring to the seventh number, which appeared in January 1827. The paper cover of the fascicule of Number 6 noted that '**The remaining portions of the work will be published at intervals of Three to Four Months, of which the Seventh is in considerable forwardness**'.

Part Six consisted of:

- (1) Patras (Ancient Patrae) Achaia
- (2) River Scenery Approaching Pellene, in Achaia
- (3) Rocks of the Strophades, [from a drawing provided by 'C. Jones Esq.']
- (4) The Schiste, On Parnassus
- (5) Temple of Pandrosus, Acropolis of Athens (Cat. Nos. P. 117- 121).

Miller received 17 Guineas for his plates, Rocks of the Strophades, complete by August 1826, which may confirm the delay in publication. No mention of a 'C. Jones' has been found in the books of reference.

Part Seven followed quite quickly and it was received by the London Literary Gazette on the 6th January 1827.⁴⁶ It may have been available sooner however, as Williams wrote to Miller on the 20th December 1826 and ended: '**No. 7 will be printed and before the public on**

the 26th; so say Messrs Longman and Co, from whom I have had a few lines'. It consisted of five plates:

- (1) Elusis & Part of the Island of Salamis
- (2) Temple of Theseus, Athens
- (3) Chaeronea
- (4) On the Gulf of Corinth
- (5) Mountains of Sopra Canina, Gulf of Avlona (Cat. Nos. P. 122-126).

Part Eight was available on the 5th May 1827⁴⁷ and it contained two engravings from drawings by C. R. Cockerell - Nos. (1) and (3):

- (1) Plain of Marathon
- (2) Mount Vodia Anciently Mount Panachaicus, Achaia
- (3) Temple of Apollo Epicurius, Arcadia
- (4) Near View of the Ancient Temple at Corinth
- (5) Remains of an Ancient Temple at Corinth Mount Citheron in the Distance (Cat. Nos. P. 127-131).

Hugh Williams did not visit Marathon on his tour of Greece but he used a sketch by Cockerell to produce, not only this etching but a dramatic watercolour, two versions of which exist. (Cat. No. W. 127 and Collection of Lord Young⁴⁸) The second plate after Cockerell, Temple of Apollo Epicurius, Arcadia is more problematic. It is inscribed 'H. W. Williams from a sketch by C. R. Cockerell Esq.'. No sketch by Cockerell is known. Cockerell was closely associated with the Temple of Apollo Epicurius at Bassae as he had discovered the frieze there in 1811 and published the results of the 1812 excavation, in 1860. The etching in the Select Views in Greece is close to a sketch in the British Museum by John Foster [c.1787-1846],⁴⁹ who was with Cockerell in Greece and may also have met Williams in Rome in 1817.

Part Eight included an advertisement for the proposed 'Select Views in Italy and the Adjacent Isles' which was never published:

The Series of Views will comprehend the interesting and Picturesque Scenery of Elba, Calabria, the Ionian Islands, etc. etc.... The work will be completed in Twelve Numbers, each Number containing Five Plates, of a size rather larger than the "Views in Greece", and of three sorts, to range uniformly with that publication.

Williams had probably begun to think about an Italian series at the same time that his Greek Views began to appear, as there are two watercolours: The Temple of Saturn and Vespasian and A Reconstruction of the Forum at Rome, in the National Galleries of Scotland, signed and dated 1823 (Cat. Nos. W. 112-113). Both are in pencil with a sepia wash and white bodycolour, the artist's usual medium for originals which were to be engraved. The watercolour A Fishing Port [NGS], previously ascribed to James Giles and here re-attributed to Hugh Williams, is probably another candidate for inclusion in this series. It depicts, in fact, the Harbour and Fortress of Porta Ferrajo, Elba (See Cat. No. W. 88). Another work in sepia wash, Landscape [NMW](Cat. No. W. 95) mentioned in Section 2:4.6. was probably also intended for this publication. It seems likely that it was exhibited in the artist's one man exhibition in 1822 with the title, Cassino, near the city of Naples, looking towards the Island of Capria.

Part Nine was with the London Literary Gazette for Saturday 11th August 1827,⁵⁰ although the advertisement on the front of Part Eight had stated that it would be published in May 1827. It consisted mainly of mountain scenery:

- (1) Mountains of Locri Ozolae, looking Towards Naupactos
- (2) Mount Olympus
- (3) Fountain at Vostizza
- (4) Mount Helicon
- (5) Mount Citheron (Cat. Nos. P. 132-136).

The correspondence with William Miller reveals that Williams relied on him to quite an extraordinary extent, to correct errors or lack of subtlety in the work of other engravers. Either Williams himself, in writing the original letters, or W. F. Miller in publishing them, omitted the names of the engravers but from the subjects, it is a simple matter to identify them. In a letter dated April 1827, Williams refers firstly to the etching, Fountain at Vostizza by James Stewart:

[April 1827.]

My Dear Mr. Miller,

I beg to send you Mr.-----'s last plate and proofs. I find it will not do at all without your master hand. It wants force and effect exceedingly. Pray do what you can with it, spare no labour and I shall not spare expence, but let me have it sparkling if possible. Give me one of your beautiful skies, retouch the distance, and above all, destroy the formality of the tyles. I leave the plate in your skilful hands, being assured that you will be able to make something of it. Let the walls be *crumbly* and

limey (new words) looking. Examine the water, which must be made to *reflect*, and give *spunk* to the figures. Yours truly, H. W. Williams. I think of putting the print in the next number, as I am quite sure of -----'s plate. I am quite charmed with the Etching of Naupactus; on comparing it with those of yore it beats them all to sticks. You will make a lovely plate.

The reference to 'Naupactus' is to the etching by Miller; Mountains of Locri Ozolae, looking towards Naupactus, the original drawing for which was sold at Sotheby's London on the 16th October 1981 (Lot 43). In a further letter he refers to problems with the engravings by W. H. Lizars; Mount Olympus, in this part and Cardamoula, which would appear in Part Ten:

May 1827

My Dear Mr. Miller,

I send you the two plates by -----, with my corrections; pray do as much as you can to them. The effect intended to be given to M^t. Olympus is rather *solemn*, with the last rays of the setting sun gilding the top of the mountain, all the rest below to be in mystery and shade, except the foreground, which may sparkle a little. This plate wants tone and air very much, the distant hill must be sent *far away*, and the subordinate ones must come forward in different degrees of shade. There is at present a *blackness* about the plate without air. The plants on the immediate foreground are too large and too distinct. Cardamoula will require a good deal of touching. The buildings are out of drawing, also the distant mountain, which ought to appear very remote: the large white cloud behind the mountain took from its size exceedingly; it must be reduced. Tone, tone, tone, is what both plates want to the last degree.

Ever yours, H.W.Williams.

Your own plate is *admirable* in all respects. The outline of Cardamoula is by Mr. Cockerell, done on the spot.

Part Ten was with the London Literary Gazette before the 2nd February 1828,⁵¹ although once again, the advertisement on the cover of Part 9 had suggested it would be published in August 1827. It consisted of:

- (1) Restoration of the Front of the Parthenon of Athens, [drawn by C. R. Cockerell]
- (2) General View of the Corinthian Shore as seen from a Height Approaching Vostizza
- (3) Promontory of Sunium from the Sea
- (4) Crissa on Mount Parnassus looking up the Vale of Salona, Anciently Amphissa
- (5) Cardamoula the Ancient Cardamyle (Cat. Nos. P. 137-141).

Williams gave Miller detailed instructions for the completion of the Promontory of Sunium:

Castle Street, Monday Morning, [1827]

My Dear Mr. Miller,...My own little Minerva Sunais⁵² too, promises well. You will see the alterations I have made, particularly on the sky and water; there was a

certain kind of *mannerism* in the former which could not be allowed to remain. Take care of hard edges on the dark cloud, and let the one *sailing off the hill*, mixed with the smoke from a fire, be delicate and characteristic. I have really no more to say than that I beg you will get the plate out of hands as soon as you can, as the letterpress is sent to London, and everything is in readiness...

The original drawing, in pencil, pen and sepia wash, is in a private collection in Canada. Miller added a group of birds at the lower right corner, otherwise the etching is a faithful reproduction of the drawing. Cockerell had wanted to make changes to the etching of the Restoration of the Front of the Parthenon of Athens but Williams was unable to incorporate them 'as the whole has been printed'⁵³ The etching of Cardamoula, also drawn by Cockerell, caused a great deal of difficulty, as has been suggested in the detailed corrections listed in the previous letter. Williams wrote to Cockerell on the 9th February 1828:

By the way I may say that the subject of Cardamoula in the last number [Part 10] did not please me in the engraving, so I put no name to it except the Engravers [Lizars]. It is surprising how an engraver of bad taste communicates his vulgar feeling to anything he takes in hand.⁵⁴

In fact, this was the second occasion on which Williams dealt W. H. Lizars the ultimate snub. He had, presumably purposefully, left his own name off the plate of Mount Olympus which he had also asked Miller to correct.

Part Eleven, which was to have been published in March 1828 was with the London Literary Gazette before Saturday, 12th July⁵⁵ and contained the following parts:

- (1) Delphi
- (2) Part of Mistra the Ancient Sparta
- (3) Mountain Scenery, Gulf of Avlon
- (4) Plain of Chaeronea
- (5) View Looking across the Isthmus of Corinth (Cat. Nos. P. 142-146).

Perhaps in an attempt to prevent the difficulties encountered with the sketch by Cockerell, published in Part Ten, Williams produced his own drawing for Mistra 'from a sketch by C. R. Cockerell Esq.', and had Miller work from his drawing.

[May 1828.] My Dear Mr. Miller, I have examined the proofs with care, and I now return them for a few more of your masterly touches. The only remarks I have to make in regard to the *upright* one [Part of Mistra, the Ancient Sparta] are, in the first place, that it is a *beautiful engraving* - just what I expected from your skill and fine

understanding - and, secondly, that in my opinion, very little additional work will be required to finish it. Please see what I have done. take off the *scollopy* or *formal curves* of the clouds; go in upon them with the parallel lines which represent the azure part of the sky. Flatten the shadows of the hills, they had too much of a *marbled appearance*. What I have done to the foreground you will find very *evident*; there must be repose and breadth of shade on the plants near the female figure. I think a *black lamb* near the figure would be more conducive to good effect; keep down the other lamb so as not to appear a light *spot*. This is all I have to say about this plate. With respect to -----'s engraving, it is greatly improved, and really now requires very little; the part I dislike most is about the village and ruined walls on the foreground. Can anything be done to the roofs? The houses absolutely look like so many bandboxes, hard in the outline, and very disagreeable. Above all, examine the ruined walls, I am sure they are better, and more like the thing they are intended to represent, in my drawing. Do what you can. And now comes the Isthmus, which has annoyed you so much. Keep down the long horizontal light at the bottom of the hills, and give the reflections of them in it, and all will be right. I find it was *my fault*, and not yours, that the plate had not a good general effect. Now *oblige me* by doing these few things as soon as possible, as I am anxious to send off the plates to London by the steam vessel which sails on Saturday next, being desirous to go to the country with Mrs. Williams (who is at present a little unwell) with the view of restoring her health. Believe me to be yours most truly,
H.W.Williams.

The watercolour Boats on the Isthmus of Corinth [NGS](Cat. No. W. 127) is identical to the etching above (5), but it is unlikely that this work would have been given to the platemaker. However, in view of the artist's state of health in 1828, it may be the original used for the production of the plate.

The last part of the Select Views in Greece was with the London Literary Gazette on the 21st March 1829,⁵⁶ three months before the artist's death, in June that year.⁵⁷ Perhaps it is indicative of his state of health that three of the five engravings in this part are after C. R. Cockerell; 1, 3, and 4:

- (1) Restoration of the City of Athens
- (2) Plain of Orchomenos from Livadia⁵⁸
- (3) Nemea
- (4) Argos
- (5) Grecian Landscape (Cat. Nos. P. 147-151).

Although both Nemea and Argos are lettered on the plate as by Williams, they are said to be from sketches by Cockerell, in the list of contents in the fascicule. The plate Grecian Landscape is what appears to be the only imaginary landscape in the entire series of 64 engravings.

In 1829, Longman Rees and Company, who took over the publication after the demise of both Constable and Company and Hurst and Robinson, published the entire set of engravings, with letter-press in two volumes.⁵⁹ Williams, with only a few months to live, asked William Miller to re-work some of the plates and it is possible to identify some of this re-working.⁶⁰ This publication is the most commonly available set of the Select Views in Greece.

The accounts for the publication kept by Longman's, show that Williams received payment in January and April each year. The total sum paid on these occasions amounted to £1226.0.9 including two payments of cash, the first on the 19th June 1827, of £250 and the second, on the 27th June 1828, for £100. As they were in cash, these payments may have been picked up in London in person. After the artist's death in 1829, Robina Miller, his widow, received £262.16.7 on 23rd January 1830⁶¹ and £199.2.1 on the 5th November(?) 1830.⁶² Aeneas Macbean, W.S. received £407.0.3. on the 23rd June 1840⁶³. This amounts to a total income of £1832.3.1. The final payment to Macbean in 1840 included the proceeds of an auction sale at "Southgates" which raised £466.0.0⁶⁴. This presumably cleared up all the remaining stock of unbound engravings and text, and some bound volumes in Quarto and Octavo. The accounts reveal some other information which is of interest. For example, the copper plates were kept by "Mr. Geddes [presumably the artist's friend Andrew Geddes] at 58 Brooke Street, Bond Street"⁶⁵. Williams gave a number of copies away and the accounts list carefully those who received complimentary copies. Those mentioned include J. G. Lockhart⁶⁶ [John Gibson Lockhart, son-in-law of Sir Walter Scott], W. B. Cooke⁶⁷, [Williams presented Cooke with an India Proof before letters, of an etching by James Stewart of The Valley of the Plietus from Delphi. It is inscribed "**presented by the Artist to W. B. Cooke**"]⁶⁸. S. C. Cockerell⁶⁹, Mr. Lewis⁷⁰ [possibly F. C. Lewis, the engraver] and the artist's sister, Mrs. Charter, in Exeter⁷¹. Copies to the Edinburgh College Library, the Advocates Library⁷², the College at Durham⁷³ and the British Museum⁷⁴ are also listed although, surprisingly the first two now have only the 1829, two volume publication.

There are two volumes of artist's and engraver's proofs, on folio size paper and sumptuously bound, in the National Gallery of Scotland. They were presented by Mrs. Williams in 1859 and she may also have been responsible for the binding. Williams mentions

such a set of proofs in a letter to Andrew Geddes on the 26th June 1826,⁷⁵ offering them for sale to George Sheepshanks, the important collector. He declares them to be unique. In a second letter to Geddes, he thanks him for the money for the prints, specifically referring to Sheepshanks, and yet this group of proofs does not seem to have been with the large group of material given to the British Museum in 1857 by Sheepshanks.

3:4.3. *Edinburgh from Arthur's Seat.*

The collaboration with William Miller and the close knit Quaker community of which he was a member, led to the publication of a large engraving of Edinburgh in 1826. A loose advertisement for the engraving appeared in one of the fascicules of Scott's Provincial Antiquities, which stated:

The View is taken at Mid-day from a point immediately below the summit of Arthur's Seat, on the south side; and comprises most of the interesting objects in the Old and New Town, with the Calton Hill, the Corstorphine Hills, and Dalmeny Park; the windings of the Forth, with the interesting Scenery on its Banks; including, on the north, the Coast of Fife and the Ochills; and, in the extreme distance, Ben Lomond and others in the Grampian Chain.

The engraving was published by the prominent Quakers, John and Arthur Arch, as well as Colnaghi, Son & Co, in London. It was executed under the supervision of Williams who wrote to William Miller from London to say that he would re-touch the proof of the Edinburgh plate there.⁷⁶ In the Appendix to Miller [1898], the author noted that the plate was finished in November 1826 and the engraver paid £140. He then went on:

The artist was paid £12.12s for the drawing, viii [August] 1824. Half the expences of the drawing and engraving were paid by Francis Tuckett, of Frenchay. Proofs before letters sold for £2.2s. each; India proofs, £1.15s.; French proofs, £1.12s; and prints, 18s.

The amount paid for the watercolour appears derisory and it may be that Williams was paid to make a smaller version in sepia for the platemaker, although none is known. By a fortunate coincidence, a watercolour of this subject, Edinburgh from Arthur's Seat [PC] measuring 17" x 24", and a rare group of letters by William Miller⁷⁷ referring to the publication of this print, appeared separately in 1995.⁷⁸ By its state of finish this is almost certainly the work exhibited at the artist's one man exhibition in 1826 (No. 26). The catalogue

entry lists the additional information that it had been partially coloured on the spot and that Miller's engraving was almost complete. Presumably even at this stage the watercolour belonged to Tuckett as the agreement between him and J. & A. Arch states that it was in his possession in September 1824. The only person who appears to have made any money out of this project was Miller as Tuckett offered his share of the profits to him:

and I need not assure thee that thy generous offer of thy share of what profits may accrue from the sale of the Print, excited in my mind feelings of no ordinary interest.⁷⁹

Further research will be required to understand the reasons for what appears to have been a completely philanthropic gesture on the part of Tuckett.

1 Op. cit. Vol. I, p.58.

2 BEATTIE, William: *Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell*. Three Volumes, unindexed. London [1849]. Vol. I, p.267. For all other references to Williams and the poem, *The Queen of the North*, see Vol. I, pp. 268, 273-4, 277-8, 294, 301, 303-4, 315, 324-5, 330, 353, 369-70.

3 Ibid. (BEATTIE): Vol. I, p.267-8.

4 Ibid. (STODDART): Vol. I, p.100. An engraving of St. Bernard's Well, by W. Poole, appeared as a Title-page to Stoddart's book. It is a different view to that described here and no artist is given. This description is close to a watercolour by Williams in the National Gallery of Scotland; *St. Bernard's Well, Edinburgh*. (DNG 3981). Stoddart had important opinions on figures in landscape which may have had a bearing on Williams' attitude. See Vol. I, p.9-10.

5 Ibid. (BEATTIE): Vol. I, p.325. Letter from Thomas Campbell to John Richardson, dated Altona, 16th December 1800.

6 Ibid. (BEATTIE): Vol. I, p.294. Letter from Thomas Campbell to Mr. Richardson, dated Ratisbon, 17th September 1800.

7 Ibid. (BEATTIE): Vol. I, p.315. Letter from Thomas Campbell to Dr. Anderson, dated Altona, 14th November 1800.

8 Ibid. (BEATTIE): Vol. I, p.330-339. *The Exile of Erin* was first published on the 28th January 1801 and was written immediately after his arrival in Altona.

9 *Glasgow Courier* 25th June 1796, p. 3(b). Advertisement for David Niven offering a print of *The Queen of France* by J. Eginton and Bartolozzi.

10 LETTICE, John: *Letters on a Tour through various parts of Scotland in the year 1792* London [1793] p. 196. See: IRWIN, Francina: 'Scottish Eighteenth-century Chintz and its Design' in *The Burlington Magazine* Vol. CVII [1965]. September pp. 452-458 and October, pp. 510-514. This reference, p.510(a).

11 Ibid. (STODDART): Vol. I, p.175.

12 *Scotsman*. 22nd January 1801.

13 *Scotsman*. 24th April 1801.

14 Library of Congress, Washington. KENYON, Edward: *An Essay on Trees in Landscape*. London [1815]. Original imprint covered with a label for H. E. Bohn, London [1844]. While it cannot be regarded as a publication, a set of these etchings was added to this volume in 1844, apparently by way of extra illustrations.

15 BRITTON, John: *Beauties of England and Wales* London [1813]. Facing p. 253.

16 Edinburgh University Library. MSS Laing IV, Letters from artists. Letter from Hugh Williams to Andrew Geddes dated 23rd July 1826.

- 1717 STODDART, John: Remarks on Local Scenery and Manners in Scotland during the years 1799 and 1800. London [1801]. Two Volumes.
- 18 GIRTIN, T. and LOSHAK, D.: The Art of Thomas Girtin. London [1954] p.41 and footnote.
- 19 Scottish Record Office: National Register of Archives (Scotland). 14810, Stirling of Garden Papers, Bundle 188. Letter from Hugh William Williams to Rev William MacGregor Stirling, 2nd March [postmark] 1815.
- 20 Scott's work is occasionally credited to Hugh Williams, as in the case of his Spedlins Castle [FAS] which was in fact etched by Scott in a small publication, An Elegant Collection of Interesting Views in Scotland Edinburgh [1802], with the inscription 'R. Scott Fe'. Scott's style is never as polished as that of Williams, but his work can be a source of great confusion.
- 21 For a remarkable run of correspondence between Williams and his engraver William Miller see, MILLER, W. H. F. : Memorials of Hope Park London (Privately Printed) [1898] (Unindexed) pp. 117-126.
- 22 Simond was in Edinburgh firstly from 10th to 20th August 1810 and secondly, from 11th September 1810 to 24th February 1811. Williams also gave Simond instructions for doing chalk-etching on soft ground '**an easy and agreeable mode of engraving**', p.47.
- 23 Yale Center for British Art, New Haven.
- 24 See his View of Glenco, dedicated to Benjamin West, Published 1st July 1812, as part of a set. (British Museum, Map Room. Kings Library XLIX. 4c.) It is not as well drawn as the Williams view of the same scene, but it looks much more exciting because of its colour.
- 25 Farrington published a set of majestic views of Scotland. See in particular, A North West View of Edinburgh Castle From the Water of Leith. Published 1st February 1792. Engraved after Farrington by J. Jukes. (British Museum, Map Room. Kings Library XLIX. 74b.)
- 26 National Museum of Wales: Parts in original wrappers, Nos. 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11. There is also a small group of original fascicules in the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris.
- 27 Victoria and Albert Museum: MSS L.3463-1875, Letter from Hugh Williams to Sir Thomas Dick Lauder dated 8th January 1828. '**With regard to the numbers of Greece...there is no particular arrangement for the prints...**'
- 28 The printer is unidentified until the plates Temple of Jupiter Panhellenius, Aegina and Plain of Plataea, both in Part 3. (January 1825). These are additionally engraved "**Printed by McQueen**". Thereafter, almost all of the plates are similarly identified.
- 29 Quarterly Review. October 1823, p.293., The Scotsman, 21st February 1824 and the London Literary Gazette, 14th February 1824, p.123. all state that the publication would be complete in six parts.
- 30 NAGLER, Georg Kaspar: Neues Allgemeines Kunstler- Lexikon. Leipzig [1924]. "**Die Folioausgabe is var der Schrift, und es worden nur 12 Exemplaire abgezangen.**"
- 31 National Library of Scotland. MSS 638. f. 34r. Letter from Hugh Williams to C. R. Cockerell dated 18th March 1823. The letter is written in the margins of a Report by Dr. Brewster.
- 32 Quarterly Review. October 1823. p.293.
- 33 National Library of Scotland. MSS 638, f. 20r-23v. Letter from Hugh Williams to C. R. Cockerell, dated 29th December 1822.
- 34 RIBA Library, Coc/9/3/ Vol. 2. p.69. Journal of C. R. Cockerell, entry for Thursday 29th August 1822.
- 35 National Library of Scotland. MSS 638, f. 23r. Letter from Hugh Williams to C. R. Cockerell, dated 29th December 1822.
- 36 London Literary Gazette. Saturday 17th July 1824, p.460. Review.
- 37 Op. Cit. MILLER [1898]. After careful research it would appear that the original manuscript letters have not survived.
- 38 Op. Cit. MILLER [1898]: The dates in square brackets are those presumed by W. H. F. Miller and the italics probably represent underlining in the original Williams manuscript.
- 39 Private Collection, Edinburgh. BROWN, J: A Scrap Book of Engravings. This includes a number of proofs by various artists.
- 40 The reviewer, having complained about the poor Latin of the previous Parts, was relieved that it had been dropped for Part Three. Special mention was made of the engravings by

- William Miller: **"There is freedom about his skies (probably from his not employing mechanical means) which has gratified us extremely"**
- 41 National Library of Scotland. MSS 590, f. 343r-344v. Letter from Hugh Williams to William Miller, dated 5th January 1829.
- 42 Ibid.: Brown, J.
- 43 London Literary Gazette, 30th July 1825, p.493. The reviewer was severely critical of the Mountains of Epirus, which included more of the ship on which the artist was travelling, than the landscape. **"The Temple of Jupiter Olympias is much better but even here the real lightening is an absurd illustration of a poetical image"**.
- 44 London Literary Gazette, 1st April 1826, p.204.
- 45 London Literary Gazette, 9th September 1826, p.572.
- 46 London Literary Gazette, 6th January 1827, p.9.
- 47 London Literary Gazette, 5th May 1827, p.284.
- 48 McKAY, William D.: The Scottish School of Painting London [1906]. p.194-5. Illustrated opposite p.194. The engraving is closer to the picture in Lord Young's collection.
- 49 MALLALIEU, H. L.: Dictionary of English Watercolour Artists. Antique Collectors Club [1976].
- 50 London Literary Gazette, 11th August 1827, p.524.
- 51 London Literary Gazette, 2nd February 1828, p.75.
- 52 The temple on the promontory of Sunium was thought, in the Nineteenth Century, to be dedicated to Minerva but it is now known that it was dedicated to Poseidon, God of the Sea, a more appropriate dedication, considering its position.
- 53 National Library of Scotland. MSS. 638 f. 114v. Letter from Hugh Williams to C. R. Cockerell, dated 7th January 1828.
- 54 National Library of Scotland. MSS. 638. f. 115r-116v. Letter from Hugh Williams to C. R. Cockerell, dated 9th February 1828.
- 55 London Literary Gazette, 12th July 1828, p.443. The reviewer thought that this was to be the last Part.
- 56 London Literary Gazette, 21st March 1829, p.196.
- 57 London Literary Gazette, 27th June 1829, p.111. Obituary notice for Hugh Williams. **"His death, though to many it may appear sudden, was long anticipated by an anxious and an affectionate circle of friends"** This implies that they knew of his illness and may explain why they thought Part Eleven was to be the last. Williams had been in London on the 27th June 1828 and collected some cash from his publisher.
- 58 The original drawing for this engraving was with Sotheby's, London, 23rd October 1991, Lot 122. (Not part of the Blackmer Collection)
- 59 University of Reading, University Library: Longman Commission Ledgers, Vol. C5, p.640. "12 copies, 2 vols. Roy. 4^{to}. made up - 4 kept for Mrs. Williams and deliv^d. Feb. 8th 1840." Also, "9 copies, 2 vols. Imp 8^o. bds. - 6 kept for Mrs. Williams and del^d., Feb. 8th 1846."
- 60 National Library of Scotland. MS 590. f. 343r-344v. Letter from Hugh Williams to William Miller, dated 5th January 1829. The artist's mind wandered and he confused the numbering, but it is clear he meant plates in Parts 3, 4 and 5.
- 61 Ibid. Vol. C4. p.624.
- 62 Ibid. Vol. C4. p.624.
- 63 Ibid. Vol. C5. p.640. Aeneas Macbean was one of the artist's Trustees.
- 64 Ibid. Vol. C5. p.640. June 1839.
- 65 Ibid. Vol. C3. p.285.
- 66 Ibid. Vol. C3. p.285. "30th October 1826, i N^o. 6, roy 4^o."
- 67 Ibid. Vol. C3. p.285. "30th October 1826 and 1st December 1826. 1 N^o. 1-6, octavo and 1 N^o. 1-6, quarto."
- 68 British Museum, Print Room, BM 1875.7.10.4330.
- 69 Ibid. Vol. C3. p.289. "16th June 1827, 1 N^o. 1-8 quarto."
- 70 Ibid. Vol. C4. p.596. "26th December 1827, 1 N^o. 5-9 octavo."
- 71 Ibid. Vol. C4. p.596. "29th December 1827, 1 N^o. 8-9 octavo."; C4. p.598. "31st December 1828, 1 N^o. 10-11 octavo."; C4. p.598. "27th March 1829, 1 N^o. 12 octavo."
- 72 Ibid. C4. p.597. "25th November 1828, 2 (each?) N^o. 11" and "11th August 1830, 2 N^o. 12 octavo."

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- 73 Ibid. Vol. C4. p.597. "26th April 1828, 4 of Nos. 8, 9 and 10."
- 74 Ibid. Vol. C4. p.624. "24th July 1830 [after the artist's death], 1 N^o. 12 quarto."
- 75 Edinburgh University Library. MSS. Laing IV. 26.10. Letter from Hugh Williams to Andrew Geddes, dated 26th June 1826.
- 76 Edinburgh University Library. MSS. Laing II 426/468. Letter from Hugh Williams to William Miller dated [by postmark] 1825.
- 77 Private Collection [The Tuckett Society, c/- Alan Freke, 5 Cliff Court Drive, Frenchay, Bristol BS16 1LP.]: MSS collection of letters from William Miller to Francis Tuckett, dated between November 1825 and October 1831. Also Statement of account between Frances Tuckett and J. & Arthur Arch, dated 27th Nov. 1827. Also an agreement between J & A. Arch and F, Tuckett, respecting a Print of Edinburgh. 1st Sept. 1824.
- 78 Christies, London, 25th April 1995 Lot. 86. With an extended catalogue note [un-attributed!] by the present author.
- 79 Private Collection [The Tuckett Society, above] Letter from William Miller to Francis Tuckett, dated 11th January 1827.

Chapter 4.

HUGH WILLIAMS IN CONTEXT.

4:1. *Introduction.*

In 1877, Samuel Redgrave in his Introduction to the Descriptive Catalogue of the South Kensington Museum wrote that **“Watercolour painting is an art entirely of British origin, and acknowledged as such by all the continental schools”**. Until recently, this attitude prevailed in almost all the published material on watercolours, only Luke Herrmann attempting to explore its broader, European context.¹ There has been a constant reluctance to acknowledge that French practitioners, in terms of drawing from nature, aerial perspective, softness of technique and the occasional use of the brush alone, were chronologically in advance of British artists.²

The study of landscape watercolours has suffered from this nationalistic approach, discouraging consideration of the influence of European techniques on British practice while at the same time diminishing the discussion of the cross-border exchanges within the United Kingdom. Consequently it has always been assumed that any significant influences were from South to North - from England to Scotland. As an example of the way in which this attitude stifled ideas, Halsby [1986] - in the only book devoted to early Scottish watercolours - considered Paul Sandby [1730/1-1809] merely in passing, because he had been born in England.³ Research for this thesis, to be discussed later, has shown that Sandby's training may have begun in Edinburgh, greatly influenced by French practice.

Halsby could not accept that there was a school of Scottish water-colour and Hardie [1967], while believing that there was, based his belief on the assumption that racial characteristics must in some way have influenced Scottish art. They no doubt did, but neither author considered the evidence for a school of Scottish watercolour, based on a delicate technique laid over a pencil outline. There is now clear evidence that this method was first practised in Scotland by the artist Richard Cooper senior [1704-1765], himself trained under a significant French master, and passed on to his pupils [or those in his circle], Paul Sandby,

Margaret Adam [1731-1812] and Jacob More [?1740-93]. There is also evidence that this soft technique was passed on by later teachers to Hugh Williams, using the work of Jacob More as examples and possibly in turn by him to James Stevenson [1780-1840][See Chapter 1:4.4 p. 61 and Cat. No. DA. 12].

The training of Paul Sandby in the context of his experience north of the border and the change his style underwent while he was in Edinburgh between 1747 and 1751 has not previously been considered in publication.⁴ Similarly, no author has considered the distinct school of Scottish printmaking which began with Richard Cooper senior and can be traced through the etchings of his pupils Andrew Bell [1726-1809], Robert Adam [1728-1792], Alexander [1736-1785] and John Runciman [1744-1768] to Hugh Williams. There is now evidence that Paul Sandby should be considered within this group.

This is not the place for a full discussion of Richard Cooper senior but his training and presence in Edinburgh will be discussed, three works will be illustrated and his influence traced in the work of a group of artists in his circle. It will be shown that there is a close link between the work of Paul Sandby and his Scottish contemporaries, and the work of Hugh Williams. There is no evidence that Williams came into direct contact with Sandby but there is evidence that he knew the works of Jacob More and this represents a previously unidentified tradition which had a strong influence on his practice, both in watercolour and etching.

4:2. *Hugh Williams and the Scottish Tradition.*

From the discussion of his methods and techniques in Chapter 2, it is clear that Hugh Williams worked in a highly refined manner, inspired, or directly influenced through Louis Ruffini, by European techniques. There is however, evidence for a much earlier and previously un-noted influx of European ideas into Scottish practice with the arrival in Edinburgh of Richard Cooper senior, around 1726. There are very few extant works by this artist but from those that are known, he too worked in soft pencil with washes of ink or watercolour (Figure 4:1)⁵. Cooper has not been the subject of any previous detailed research but it is possible now to suggest that he attended the first St. Martin's Lane Academy in London, studying under Louis Cheron [1660-1725], himself a pupil of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture

in Paris and the French Academy in Rome. An album of Cooper's late figure drawings [BAGM, Inv. No. 42'55] contains a number of drawings which clearly show the influence of Cheron and which were not copied from known prints after this artist (**Figure 4:2**). Indeed, there is one sheet in the album which appears to be by Cheron himself [p. 14v].

Through the establishment of the Academy of St. Luke in Edinburgh in 1729 Cooper introduced into Scotland practical French ideas of academic study combined with craft skills. His known pupils included Andrew Bell, engraver, founder and eventual owner of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*; Sir Robert Strange [1721-1792] another celebrated engraver and Allan Ramsay [1713-1784], a fine draughtsman and painter. On the basis of new research it is now possible to state that Cooper was the dominant force in artistic education in the Scottish capital from 1729 until his death in 1764. Thus it is very likely that his pupils included the children of the signatories to the document which established the Academy of 1729: William Adam [1689-1748] and his children, Robert, Margaret and John; the interior decorator James Norie [1684-1757] and his children James and Robert. A good case can be made for the inclusion of the Jacob More in Cooper's circle and most importantly of all, on the basis of his drawing, watercolour and etching style, Paul Sandby, who spent five years in Edinburgh between 1747 and 1751. The watercolours of Paul Sandby, Margaret Adam and Jacob More will be considered here because of their influence, indirectly, on the work of Hugh Williams.

Williams may have known Paul Sandby through David Allan, who, it has been shown in Chapter 1:2.1, played some part in the young artist's training. Sandby purchased four large watercolours from Allan's series of Roman Carnivals and published them as aquatints in 1778. Even if this were not the route, Williams would have been aware of Sandby's work from early in his career if he had any contact with the Edinburgh Military Academy. Sandby, with his Scottish connections and as a teacher at the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich for most of his professional life, must have had some influence on this branch of training in Britain. Not only this, but Williams' patrons the Buccleuch family, had patronised Paul Sandby before him. They had a remarkable collection of Sandby's large topographical watercolours, now at Drumlanrig Castle. Certainly, Williams imitated Sandby directly in his watercolour of

Bothwell Castle [c.1795, BM] (*Cat. No. W. 8*), and his six large aquatints of Scottish scenery are very similar in effect [although much larger in scale] to Sandby's Welsh aquatints [1774-5].

Hugh Williams like Paul Sandby was also involved in interior decoration. In 1793 Sandby signed a painted a room at Drakelaw Hall which was reassembled in the Victoria and Albert Museum, on the demolition of the house in 1934. The decoration, in oil paint, shows a landscape view which extends from floor to ceiling. This scheme was almost certainly inspired by decorated rooms by Richard Cooper senior, in his own house in Edinburgh. Strange suggests that '**He [Cooper] had decorated this house with every ornament; and on the walls of his great drawing-room he had himself painted some historical compositions which were by no means contemptible**'.⁶ Later writers suggest that these pictures were in oil, which darkened considerably. Hugh Williams is said to have painted wall decoration at Falcon Hall in Edinburgh for Alexander Falconer, before 1824 [See p. 118, fn. 247]. No record of this decoration is known to survive.⁷

Finally Sandby's search for tonality in his etchings led him to the soft ground technique but he did not use this while in Scotland and Williams' etchings take precedence as the earliest works in that medium carried out in Scotland (*Cat. No. P. 13, 17-21 and 23*).

4:2.1. *Paul Sandby.*

Some writers have suggested that Paul Sandby studied with his brother Thomas [1723-1798]⁸, others that he trained in William Hogarth's academy in St. Martin's Lane in London.⁹ None have given clear evidence to support their claims and in fact the training of both men is unclear. An association with Hogarth's academy would be difficult to credit given the extraordinary antagonism indicated by Paul Sandby's satirical prints against the artist.¹⁰

Johnson Ball set the scene for a completely different view of Sandby's training when in 1985 he pointed out that, contrary to the obituary notice and his son's biography,¹¹ Paul Sandby was baptised on the 12th January 1730/1 and was therefore aged 16 when he arrived in Scotland, in 1747 - not 21 as writers had previously believed.¹² Consequently until recently no author considered that the sixteen year old Sandby might have *begun* his real training as an

artist in Edinburgh. Jessica Christian writing on Sandby as a map-maker has come closest to making such a suggestion:

In studying Paul Sandby's early work, it becomes clear that while in Scotland he was striving to develop his career as a professional artist rather than as a military draughtsman. In fact, the seeds of a great many of his most important contributions to 18th century art were sown early in his career, while employed on the Military Survey. Based in Edinburgh, Sandby managed to make friends with all the leading lights in the city's art world. He learned to etch, and produced a series of small landscape etchings of remarkable sophistication which display a considerable knowledge of the work of both earlier and contemporary continental masters of the art...He also produced a sizeable number of lively and often humorous figure sketches, made in the streets of Edinburgh...figure drawing was a talent he developed during the years with the survey.¹³

Sandby applied to become a draughtsman at the Board of Ordnance in the Tower of London in 1747, a position he entered for with a portfolio of nine drawings, seven of which were copies after engravings in Abraham Bloemaert's *Drawing Book*, published in Amsterdam in 1740.¹⁴ Paul was successful in his application to the Board of Ordnance and was sent almost immediately to Scotland as a draughtsman on the Military Survey. He arrived in September 1747 and his winter occupation, in the Board's Drawing Room at Edinburgh Castle, was to draw the first fair copy of the map of the Highlands from the original protractors made in the field.¹⁵ By the Spring of 1752 Sandby was back in London, having spent possibly five consecutive winters in Edinburgh in his official capacity.

While in Scotland Sandby produced an enormous number of delightful figure drawings which suggest an academic training with a model. Significantly Sandby's figures are always lit obliquely from above, even when depicted standing in the streets of Edinburgh in mid-winter. In the indenture which had established the Academy of St. Luke it makes clear that they drew from life.¹⁶ However, the academy ceased to function after 1733 and its activities were carried on by Cooper at his own 'Winter Academy' until shortly before his death. It was this academy which Paul Sandby could easily have attended.

Sandby's source of inspiration for his figure drawings may have been the 1646 etchings by Simon Guillain after Annibale Carracci [1560-1609], depicting ordinary working people in the streets of Bologna. Copying engraved figure drawings from important published sources formed part of the younger Allan Ramsay's [1713-1784] training at the St. Luke's Academy in

1729.¹⁷ In the Castle Museum, Nottingham [Holbrook loan] there are copies after the Guillin etchings which have a provenance connecting them with the Sandby family and indeed some are inscribed '**P.S. after Bloemaert**'. However, as Edward Bruce Robertson [1987] points out, these copies are not by Paul Sandby.

In fact, some of the copies are signed with a hooked 'C' similar to the signature on a watercolour Boatman in a Punt by Richard Cooper at the Yale Center, New Haven and other drawings in the National Galleries of Scotland. One of these copies, of No. 7 Bicchieraro, shows a young man holding a basket of vases and tableware which was copied in reverse in an etched full length portrait of Prince Charles Edward Stuart [SNPG] (**Figure 4:3**) by Richard Coopers senior. The figure of the Prince, which has an element of caricature, has been reversed but his left arm remains in much the same position as the copy after Guillin/Carracci, without the basket. The copies at Nottingham are the strongest piece of evidence for a teaching relationship between Richard senior and Paul Sandby.

Thomas P. Sandby, Paul's son, suggested in the Memoir published in the Monthly Magazine of 1st June 1811, that his father was taught to etch in Scotland by a Mr. Bell. The family relationship between the author and the subject caused more than one art historian to suspend his better judgement in relation to Paul's age and it is clear that the reference to Bell is questionable. The only 'Mr. Bell' who fits these dates is Andrew Bell, pupil of Richard Cooper senior. Bell deserves great credit for his publication of Anatomia Britannica in 1777-8, realising Cooper's project of fifty years earlier. He also etched all of the plates for the first editions of the Encyclopaedia Britannica [from 1771], educating the man-in-the-street while accumulating a fortune in the process. However, as Edward Bruce Robertson [1987] points out, Bell was probably too young to have been Sandby's teacher and in any case, his technique is '**thoroughly pedestrian and shows none of the delicacy and invention of Sandby**'.¹⁸ It is much more likely that Sandby learned to etch from Richard Cooper senior himself, his skill and techniques suggesting a knowledgeable and spirited teacher. Cooper is credited with having trained Alexander and John Runciman to etch¹⁹ and he may also have taught Robert Adam, on the basis of an early and very rare etching, Two Trees in a Landscape [BA 397] now at Blair Adam (**Figure 4: 4**). [Williams' etching Untitled [The Three Oaks, after Jacob Van

Ruisdael] [VAM](Cat. No. P. 32.) shares the same source [reversed] as Robert Adam's] From Sandby's etchings to be considered next, it can be seen that a search for tonality, expressed in Williams' use of the soft ground technique, began very early in Scotland.

4:2.2 Paul Sandby's Scottish Etchings.

While in Scotland Sandby produced etchings which display an acquaintance with the subtle and decorative line of Canaletto prints and the work of other Continental masters. As has been shown, the prints of Paul Sandby had a strong influence on the early work of Hugh Williams [Chapter 2:4.4, p. 118]. Around 1751, Sandby published a set of six vertical format etchings of Scottish scenery which as Holloway has observed, have received little attention.²⁰ Of the set at least three employ Arthur's Seat in Edinburgh as part of the distant scenery and one of them Composition with Arthur's Seat, Edinburgh [NGS] makes it a central feature (Figure 4:5). The view of Arthur's Seat is not an arbitrary one, but is in fact the view from a point in the air above Restalrig Village; then near Edinburgh but now a suburb, where Richard Cooper sen. owned the Dean's House from January 1751.

Edward Bruce Robertson [1987] was at a loss to place Sandby's etchings stylistically but he did identify the French influence:

...it is impossible to find any British etcher around 1750 who can match Sandby's delicacy (although some French artists do). The few pure etchers in England - Woolridge, Pond, Wilson or slightly later, Gainsborough - were much more awkward and manoeuvred the needle with some difficulty. Sandby handled the needle without hindrance, as freely as he drew, a kind of "scratching etching" as Vertue called it... However, his experimentation with technique, which makes him seem largely self taught, renders all attempts to place him difficult.²¹

He also noted that:

Several of the etchings resemble pen and ink sketches, some very thin and fluid, others displaying the line of a broader nib. In still others Sandby tried to reproduce the effects of washes with cross hatchings. In at least one instance, Sandby also experimented with "Maniere de lavis", where the plate has been brushed with acid, probably using a feather. English technical manuals, such as De Sculptura-Historica-Technica, 1747, did not mention the technique, although it might have been extrapolated from descriptions of washing the plate in order to re-bite it. However, Sandby's print Portrait of a Sculptor, is the only example I have discovered by a British artist in the eighteenth century.²²

with Salisbury Crags and Arthur's Seat caught in dramatic cross lighting. It is the sparkling way in which the light and shade have been captured, which have the closest parallels in the work of Hugh Williams. This same delight in tonality is evident in Williams' New Bothwell Castle from the Clyde (Figure 4:10) and has been noted previously in Sandby's watercolours. It also appears in the work of Jacob More who produced a remarkably similar set of drawings of Arthur's Seat, to be considered later.

Margaret Adam lived at 14 Nicolson Street in Edinburgh from 1790 at a time when Louis Ruffini was living just down the hill in St. Leonard's.²⁸ There is no evidence that Hugh Williams was acquainted with Margaret or her work but interestingly his earliest watercolours are signed with a very solid HWW, applied with a brush in capital letters. (Cat. Nos. W. 7 and 8, but not visible in the photograph). This appears for example in the view of Bothwell Castle, noted earlier as taken from the print by Sandby. Margaret Adam signed her drawings in exactly this way.

4:2.5 *Jacob More* [?1740-1793].

According to Patricia Andrew,²⁹ Jacob More was born in Edinburgh and his artistic training began in 1764 with Robert Norie when he took a second apprenticeship. His first is said to have been with a goldsmith, from 1757 but it has never proved possible to confirm the suggestion made by George Walker that this was the case.³⁰ Andrew [1981] was aware that the Minutes of the Incorporation of Goldsmiths are incomplete for the year 1757 when More is said to have registered, but she did not mention that their clerk was asked to fill in the gaps in the lists of apprentices, for which he was paid in 1759.³¹ More's name is not among those added later.

The Norie family were specialists in house decoration although James Norie had produced easel paintings in 1730, two of which are now in the National Galleries of Scotland. Robert Norie died in 1766 and More had to look for another master. Patricia Andrew, quoting Macmillan, states that More then became apprenticed to Alexander Runciman but there is no evidence for this.³² The Minutes of the Incorporation of St. Mary's Chapel record that on the

6th February 1768, More '**late apprentice to the deceased Robert Norie, Painter, by indenture dated 6th April 1763**' asked that his remaining time might be transferred to John Bonnar, another house painter, who consented. It is possible that More's training was taken on by Runciman in an informal way but as Patricia Andrew has suggested, there is no evidence of any influence.

More was completely enthralled by landscape. He depicted it in free flowing drawings, unusual for their time in being executed in pencil and pale colour washes, with the pencil allowed to wander as the merest indication of form. His drawings are evocations of light, taken from nature, but with little care for topographical accuracy. Buildings are occasionally included, as in Landscape with a Bridge [NGS, D287] but they are treated in a sketchy way, almost as a distraction and more often the artist re-assembles parts of the landscape and creates new scenes, allowing his imagination free reign. This is noticeable in the drawings made in the area of Arthur's Seat in Edinburgh, such as A Rocky Landscape [NGS, D286](**Figure 4:14**) where recognisable parts of the landscape such as Salisbury Crags have been combined with a loch and distant hills in a free interpretation.

There is an important watercolour by Jacob More, in a private collection. It shows a Waterfall (**Figure 4:15**) probably painted from nature, in the Highlands. It is clearly signed and dated 1773, the year More left Scotland for Rome. The work is small but is full of vigour, and captures perfectly the coarse and untamed nature of the Highlands. The still water is handled in typical straight strokes of the brush and the rapids, in an icy turquoise blue, which is another of More's trademarks. This is a truly remarkable work for its date and it would be interesting to know if Williams knew of it or others like it. His method of painting water with long horizontal single strokes, may have been picked up from copying watercolours by More (See **Cat. Nos. W. 19 and 29**).

In a drawing like Salisbury Crags and St. Anthony's Chapel, Edinburgh [NGS, D285](**Figure 4:16**), where the light and shade create a sparkle, More records this as specks and dashes of tone, in the manner of a Canaletto print. This is exactly the same effect observed in the two drawings by Margaret Adam of the same subject; Landscape of Valley and Crags [BA 581] and Pencil and Wash Drawing [BA 644], mentioned earlier. These three drawings clearly

suggest green]. This might imply, in view of Hugh Williams' training, that More also worked in the cloth printing industry during his formative years in Edinburgh. More's watercolours are so soft in tone that they have been criticised, both by Sir James Caw and in more detail, by Julian Halsby:

some of More's watercolours do lack contrast and 'bite'; however, his freshness of colour and sense of light more than compensate for other weaknesses.⁴¹

In fact, it is possible to suggest that it was this very lack of 'bite' which artists of the next generation, particularly Hugh Williams, found so appealing in More's work. Together with his works in pastel, they contributed to the development of the watercolour medium in Scotland in the nineteenth century.⁴²

Summary.

The delicate watercolours of Hugh Williams appear to show the influence of European practice. It has been shown earlier that this technique was probably not passed on by either of his known teachers, David Allan and Alexander Nasmyth, both of whom generally painted watercolours over an inked outline. Having considered that Williams used this soft technique from at least 1792, before apparently having seen the works of his English contemporaries, it has been assumed here that the major influence on his work must have been his Italian guardian, Louis Ruffini. However evidence has also been presented which suggests that Williams may have been heir to a French tradition passed down from Richard Cooper senior to Paul Sandby, Margaret Adam, Jacob More and through George Walker, to him. It has also been demonstrated that he was influenced in the field of printmaking by Sandby and Cooper's other pupils.

Williams' colouring system has been shown to have developed out of the cloth printing industry - a technique also used by Jacob More in his large watercolours. This combination of very delicate line combined with a restrained use of colour proved to be a potent force and one which was to have an influence on the work of J. M. W. Turner. Thus it is a good example of a north to south influence which calls into question many of the

assumptions about British watercolour practice both in the wake of Paul Sandby. The influence on Turner is the subject of the fifth and final chapter.

- 1 HERRMANN, Luke: British Landscape Painting of the Eighteenth Century London [1973].
- 2 For a short period in 1977 scholars were encouraged to consider the impact of the French tradition on British practice, but the effect on publications since has been limited. See TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM: French Landscape Drawings and Sketches of the Eighteenth Century London [1977]. With an Introduction by Roseline Bacou of the Louvre.
- 3 HALSBY, Julian: Scottish Watercolours 1740-1940. London [1986] p.5.
- 4 Luke Herrmann came closest to doing so in his article 'Paul Sandby in Scotland' in the Burlington Magazine Vol. CVI, July [1964] pp. 339-341.
- 5 The watercolour illustrated [NGS, D4820/10] has previously been attributed to Cooper's son, Richard jun. See HOLLOWAY, James: The Discovery of Scotland Edinburgh [1978] p. 31 and fig. 32. This is very unlikely and the scheme of decoration fits better with the evidence for Cooper senior having carried out interior decoration. The sequence of drawings from which it comes may be related to Cooper's house at Restalrig, with its grottoes and springs in the grounds of the nearby Collegiate Chapel where the family are buried.
- 6 Op. Cit. DENNISTOUN [1855] p. 31. Dennistoun's footnote to pages 24-5 regarding Cooper's property is confusing. The building he mentions in St. John Street, which had become a hat manufactory, was the one purchased in 1735 and was, I believe Cooper's academy. It stood, sensibly, close to the new Canongate Theatre in St. John Street and was sold to Francis Charteris, later Earl of Wemyss, in 1775, possibly as a tidying up of property just before the death of Cooper's widow in 1776. See Edinburgh City Archives: Canongate Cartulery, dated 22nd February 1775. The property was converted into a hat Manufactory, by Thomas Hamilton [1784-1858] between 1820 and 1822 although his drawings give few clues to the status of the house on the site. See Edinburgh City Archives, Dean of Guild Court records. Architectural plans extracted, 6th April 1822.
This property is quite distinct from the substantial house and garden which Cooper and then his wife occupied until her death, and which stood in Cooper's Entry in the Canongate. See Book of the Old Edinburgh Club, 1923, Vol. 12, p.118. For a photograph of this house taken c.1858 see ROCK, Joe and PATERSON, David: Thomas Begbie's Edinburgh Edinburgh [1992] Plate 71. By the time of his Testament, dated 1757 or of his death, Cooper was using a house above the entrance to Cooper's Entry as his 'workhouse'. See Scottish Record Office (East), B22/8/128, 28th January 1764. From the evidence in Dennistoun it seems probable that Cooper decorated both the St. John Street property and the house in which he lived.
- 7 ANDERSON, John: 'Schools, Private and Public. Falcon Hall, Edinburgh' in Illustrations. A Pictorial Review of Knowledge London [1889] pp. 331-33.
- 8 HERRMANN, Luke: Paul and Thomas Sandby London (Victoria and Albert Museum) [1986] p. 14.
- 9 ROBERTSON, Edward Bruce: 'Paul Sandby and the Early Development of English Watercolours'. Un-published PhD. D. Thesis, Yale University [1987] p. 145-8 and fn. 29.
- 10 Op. Cit. HERRMANN: p. 19.
- 11 SANDBY, W. A. : Thomas and Paul Sandby, Royal Academicians. Some Account of their Lives and Works London [1892].
- 12 Op. Cit. BALL [1985]: p. xvii.
- 13 ALFREY, Nicholas and DANIELS, Stephen (Editors): Mapping the Landscape, Essays on Art and Cartography. Essay by CHRISTIAN, Jessica: Paul Sandby and the Military Survey of Scotland. Nottingham [1990] p. 21b.
- 14 British Museum, Print Room. There are six sheets, 1880-9-11-1773 to 1778.
- 15 Richard Cooper senior had been engaged in making a map of the Highlands from at least 1742. A sequence of three drawings for the map survive, in different collections. The NLS

- appear to have the earliest outline [Bart. un-catalogued 1993] which is in pen and ink but with pencilled adjustments. It has very rough indications, again, in pencil, of some of General Wade's roads. There are two further manuscript versions of this map in the BM; one of them signed by Richard Cooper sen. and dated 1742 (verso)[BM, K.Top XLVIII. 54, 55].
- 16 Op. Cit. BRYDALL [1889], pp. 110-11.
 - 17 SMART, Alastair: Allan Ramsay 1713-1784 Edinburgh [1992] Catalogue No. 2, p. 96.
 - 18 Op. Cit. ROBERTSON [1987]: pp. 145-6.
 - 19 MACMILLAN, Duncan: Painting in Scotland The Golden Age Oxford [1986] p. 43.
 - 20 Op. Cit. HOLLOWAY and ERRINGTON [1978]: p. 37(b).
 - 21 Op. Cit. ROBERTSON [1987]: p. 146.
 - 22 Op. Cit. ROBERTSON [1987]: p. 144.
 - 23 Op. Cit. DENNISTOUN [1855].
 - 24 HERRMANN, Luke: 'Paul Sandby in Scotland' in The Burlington Magazine, Vol. CVI July 1964, pp. 339-41.
 - 25 Op. Cit. HERRMANN: [1986], p. 81, No. 3. Illustrated in black and white.
 - 26 There is another closer view of The Water of Leith Bridge [the stone Belenden Bridge of 1498], by Alexander Runciman, in an album of his drawings [PC].
 - 27 There is a small group of pencil and wash drawings, BA 82[inscr. Margam], 93, 96, 602/4, 602/10, 603/2 and 603/4, all of which appear to be by the same hand. The last, 603/4 is signed MA, lower left, in the same way as BA 586.
 - 28 See SANDERSON, Margaret H. B. 'Robert Adam's last Visit to Scotland, 1791' in Architectural History - Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain London [1982] Vol. 25 pp. 35-46.
 - 29 ANDREW, Patricia: 'Jacob More 1740-1793', PhD. D. Thesis, University of Edinburgh [1981]. Abridged version published in the Walpole Society Vol. 50 [1989/1990] pp. 105-196.
 - 30 EUL. Laing's notes on Artists, La. IV. 25. Hand-written note by George Walker '**Jacob More in 1757 was bound an Apprentice to a Goldsmith in Ed.**'
 - 31 Scottish Record Office(East), GD1/482/13. At a meeting on the 14th August 1759 it is noted that the clerk had made good the omissions in the record of indentures from 12th October 1751 to 21st December 1757. He was paid 4 Guineas for having done so.
 - 32 Op. Cit. ANDREW [1981]: p. 22, fn. 14.
 - 33 Op. Cit. ROBERTSON [1987]: p. 18(b).
 - 34 Edinburgh University Library: MSS Gen 1429/22/6. Letter from George Walker to David Erskine, Earl of Buchan, dated 12th April 1806.
 - 35 Public Record Office. MSS. L. C. 3. 68 (100), Royal Warrant, dated 4th July 1806.
 - 36 Scottish Record Office (East): MSS CC8/8/142, fol. 554v-558r. Inventory of George Walker, dated 14th November 1816. Walker did not own any property and was being pursued by creditors. His sister Jean acted on his behalf and his belongings were sold by Warrant. See Edinburgh Evening Courant, No. 16285, 26th October 1815, p. 3(c), Death notice for Walker who died on 13th September 1815.
 - 37 Op. Cit. GRAVES [1906] Vol. VII, p. 104. Williams exhibited: No. 704, View of Loch Tay, in Scotland.
 - 38 Op. Cit. ANDREW [1981]: p. 174-5.
 - 39 TISCHBEIN, Heinrich Wilhelm: Aus Meinem Leben. Berlin [1956], p. 144.
 - 40 Edinburgh Annual Register 1816, The: Edinburgh [1820], 'View of the Progress and Present State of the Arts of Design in Britain', p. cccclxxvii. (This article was probably written in 1819. See Section XII, p.cccclxxxi).
 - 41 Op. Cit. HALSBY [1986] p. 22.
 - 42 It is perhaps worthy of note here that Jacob More's sister exhibited examples of needlework in London, from 1771, a practice she continued in Edinburgh, from 1786, even making copies of her brother's work '**in Sewing**' as she put it. Hugh Williams may well have known of this work. See, Edinburgh University Library: MSS Letter Book, f. 31. Letter from Jacob More to John McGowan [10-16]th December 1786.

Chapter 5.

HUGH WILLIAMS, REPUTATION AND INFLUENCE.

5:1. *Hugh Williams and J. M. W. Turner.*

There is evidence that Williams was greatly respected for his work and ideas by both J. M. W. Turner and C. R. Cockerell, two of the leading lights in Nineteenth century art and architecture in England. Walter Thornbury in his Life of J. M. W. Turner, quoting the artist's friend, the engraver William Miller, stated that Turner thought highly of Williams as an artist.¹ Cockerell, a highly respected authority on classical architecture after his excavations in Greece, worked closely with Williams on the project to build the National Monument in Edinburgh and, as has been seen, while writing an article for publication on the Parthenon he deferred to the artist's judgement.²

Notwithstanding, Julian Halsby in 1986 could justifiably make the point that:

Had Hugh 'Grecian' Williams (1773-1829) lived and worked in London, he would have assumed a far greater place in the history of British watercolours than he now enjoys. He receives but two paragraphs in the third volume of Martin Hardie's classic Watercolour Painting in Britain, and saleroom prices reflect his comparative obscurity.³

As evidence of this Williams was not included in the comprehensive Age of Neo-classicism exhibition, held in London in 1972. It is to be hoped that this thesis will begin the process of placing Williams among the leading figures in the history of British watercolour, where he so obviously belongs.

Perhaps the only way to encourage a re-thinking of Williams' position in relation to his more famous English contemporaries, would be to establish that he brought about a significant change in British watercolour practice. This would counter the general opinion that all the major achievements resulted in ideas migrating from South to North.

Various writers have mentioned the meeting between Williams and Turner in Edinburgh in 1818, as a result of their joint work on Walter Scott's Provincial Antiquities.

Gerald Finley⁴ gives the most accurate description of the timing of the visit, pointing out that Turner wrote to Francis Chantrey, the sculptor, in Edinburgh, on the 22nd October 1818, saying that he would be in Edinburgh in a week's time. What a closer reading of the dates suggests is that Williams and Turner may have met in London before the latter's departure and possibly even travelled north together. The last known drawing made on the Continent by Williams [previously in the De la Hanty album, now RM] was in Utrecht on the 6th September 1818 and thus it is possible that he arrived in London a week or so after this. There is no positive evidence that Williams met Turner in London but Finley points out that they did so, in Edinburgh, in October. There is also evidence, to be considered here, to suggest that their meeting was of some importance to the work of both.

Turner was back in London by the 1st December and he embarked on his own Grand Tour in August 1819. Cecilia Powell recently wrote of his work in Rome:

There must have been many occasions when he discovered good viewpoints for himself, others when he deliberately stood where earlier artists had stood before him, and yet others when he was guided in his choice by friends such as Lawrence or Eastlake who knew the city well. One sketch in particular suggests this last possibility. It shows a narrow lane tucked away behind the Barberini Palace where the Church of S. Caio, a tall stone-pine, and a statue of Apollo then formed a delightfully picturesque group. Turner might have come across this spot by accident, but it is far more likely that his attention was directed to it by a fellow artist.⁵

Turner's drawing, The Statue of Apollo in the Gardens of the Palazzo Barberini is in the Tate Gallery [TB CLXXXII(69a)](Figure 5:1). A fellow artist, Hugh Williams, did indeed know of this picturesque group and his drawing was in the De la Hanty album (Figure 5:2). It may well be that both Williams and Turner were directed to the subject, as Powell suggests, by a mutual acquaintance. However, there are other, more subtle connections between the work of both Williams and Turner at this time, which imply that Williams was the source of the suggestion.

Williams, obviously moved by a personal experience, wrote a lengthy and evocative description of the interior of the Coliseum in the moonlight, in his Travels in 1820.⁶ This was, of course, originally in a letter addressed to the Rev. John Thomson of Duddingston and as Thomson's guest in 1818, Turner may well have discussed the passage in the October evenings around the fire. Turner made a watercolour of the Coliseum in Moonlight, now in the Tate

Gallery [TB CLXXXIX (13)](Figure 5:3) and this too, may be explained by a suggestion in a guide book. There is no corresponding view of the Coliseum by Williams but there are two drawings in the De la Hanty album, Fragments in the Coliseum [1818, PC], both on brown paper, and which appear to have been coloured to suggest moonlight.

The other cross fertilisations in the work are not however, as easily explained and further work will be required to understand what Turner was trying to do.

John Gage referred in 1969 to the development of a frontal approach to composition by Turner:

The best known colour-beginnings of the Italian trip are the very summary banded washes of this latter book (TB CLXXXI, pp. 10-13), 38, chiefly in blue, pink and yellow; and the watercolour of the *Campanile and Ducal Palace* shows how readily and naturally a frontal composition of sky, buildings and water could evoke this type of horizontal schematization. Venice certainly sharpened Turner's awareness of this type of fundamental structure as a natural phenomenon; but it had been working in his mind for about twenty years.⁷

That these developments occurred in his work after meeting with Williams in Edinburgh suggests that Williams may have been the source of the ideas and indeed, Williams' exploration of a 'head on' viewpoint has already been discussed in relation to his Aberdare of 1812, his Old Houses, Exeter [PC] of 1815 and his exhibition watercolour Ruins in the Acropolis of Athens [PC]. See Chapter 2:4.5.

Turner's broadly washed views of Venice, illustrated in Gage [1969], are the more obvious of these frontal compositions, but the same frontal approach occurs in The Arches of Constantine and Titus [TB CLXXXIX (40)](Figure 5:4) and in two versions of the same subject by Williams, The Arch of Titus [sic] and Temple of Venus, Rome (Cat. No. W. 101) and Arch of Constantine [PC] (Figure 5:5). It may well be that, once again, the viewpoint is one suggested by another artist, but the view is not a natural one. In all three works, the Arch of Constantine is seen 'end on' [slightly less so in the Turner], creating a strange composition, with the Arch in an elevational view and with the Temple of Venus beyond. It is difficult to know what either artist thought they were doing and this is not helped by the sense that, The Arch of Titus and Temple of Venus, Rome by Williams, is only the right half of a panoramic drawing.

All of this would be merely an interesting diversion, were it not that John Gage considers Turner's exploration of this frontal approach, combined with his greatly refined use



Colour Plate III. TURNER, J. M. W.: Watercolour, Crighton Castle [c.1818, TG]

following p. 219.

of the red, blue and yellow colour system, to be a watershed in the artist's development of colour handling. Gage refers to the watercolour Crichton Castle [TB CLXX(4)](Colour Plate III), made in Edinburgh in 1818, as the '**first work of Turner's we have discovered to be wholly based on a structure of red, yellow and blue**'⁸ This is not to say that Turner had avoided the use of the three colour system previously - he had used the standard dead-colouring technique from his earliest work, filling in the shadows with a grey before adding colour. In Crichton Castle Turner made the quantum leap and used *only* red, blue and yellow, in broad sweeping washes.

Gage's comment encouraged a detailed response from Gerald Finley in which he refuted the suggestion that this was a dramatic shift in Turner's perception.⁹ However, his argument is unconvincing, particularly as he does not refer to Hugh Williams and *his* commitment to the three colour system. Finley, falling into the trap of thinking that any new ideas could only have been communicated by Turner, was however, prepared to accept the possibility that Turner may have met *someone* in Scotland who encouraged his new approach:

If Turner's ideas were communicated in Edinburgh in 1818, then to whom? Apart from Thomson [the Rev. John Thomson, Turner's host] I am unable to suggest anyone else.

He then went on to refer to Thornbury:

who mentioned that whilst in Edinburgh (date not stated), Turner attempted to contact Brewster in order to learn about his optical experiments, but apparently did not get to meet the scientist. Instead, according to Thornbury, he seems to have met 'savans' who discussed optics with him.

Finley was convinced, because he could not identify the person who might have engaged Turner in discussion about colour in 1818, that these events must have happened during Turner's 1822 visit and that James Skene of Rubislaw [1775-1864] was one of the 'savans'. In fact, Hugh Williams was an ideal candidate for the transmission of ideas on colour and 'frontal' composition. He used the refined three colour technique from the earliest watercolours of his career and he had been a close friend of [Sir] David Brewster from at least 1804. At that time Brewster was Editor of the Scots Magazine and commissioned views from Williams as illustrations (See *Cat Nos.* P. 41-70). Not only this but Williams *visualised* landscape in terms of the three colours. Describing Rome in January 1817 he wrote:

As I see her now, the sun shining on her varied features, through the morning mist of silvery grey, how noble does she appear! The yellow Tiber flowing from distant azure scenes, derives an air of august solemnity from the classical relics, which it reflects through its whole course. The russet robe of the *campagna* too, becomes her: no vivid green, nor gaudy colouring, could so well accord with the venerable ruins of this long celebrated city.¹⁰

His enthusiasm was, without doubt, contagious and he seems to have inspired all around him with his vision. The artist's sketching companion George Basevi was one of these and the young Charles Eastlake, who was also in their circle, wrote home enthusiastically of his own sketching:

I bore the heat well and worked under an umbrella from morning to night [keeping his journal] not in black and white, but in red, blue and yellow.¹¹

The watercolour Crichton Castle would have been made by Turner as part of his work for Sir Walter Scot's Provincial Antiquities and as both he and Williams produced illustrations of Borthwick Castle for the publication (See Cat. No. P. 73) it seems likely that they visited the sites together. Indeed, as has been suggested earlier [Section 3:3.3, p. 213], Turner may have encouraged the inclusion of a view by Williams, as both contributed their quite different impressions of the place - the Williams *after* the much more dramatic one by Turner.

The sequence of drawings in Turner's sketchbook suggests that he walked the short and picturesque distance from Borthwick Castle along the valley to Crichton. In a superficial way Turner's watercolour imitates, almost to the point of parody, the early Williams compositional scheme where the latter places the building or Castle on an eminence between two sweeping repoussoirs in each lower corner. This compositional form can be seen in, View of Hawthornden [1796, NGS](Cat. No. W. 9) and Castle Campbell [1797, NMW](Cat. No. W. 14) and is illustrated here in colour (**Colour Plate IV**) in a version in a private collection also dated 1796. It is executed, as the others, in the refined three colour system.

Turner, with his fertile imagination, obviously brought the three colour system to new heights, once he had made the decision to use only these colours. This new evidence suggests that Williams may have encouraged Turner in a direction he was already taking. It is for this reason that Williams' use of the refined three colour system, from the early 1790's is such an important development in British watercolour practice.



Colour Plate IV. WILLIAMS, H. W.: Watercolour, Castle Campbell [1796, PC]

following p. 220.

CONCLUSIONS.

Much new material has been considered in this thesis and there are five main areas in which this material has attempted to change the published assessment of Hugh Williams as a man and an artist. These areas are, a) his impact on the understanding of Scottish landscape, b) the derivation of his primary method of working from the cloth printing industry, c) that he is part of an identified Scottish tradition of watercolour and printmaking, d) that he had a profound impact on the work of J. M. W. Turner and finally, e) his character and personality have become more discernible.

The emphasis placed by most writers on the romantic biography of Hugh Williams and its associations with Wales, together with his fame for scenes of Greece, has led to his being marginalised as a Scottish landscape painter. His Scottish landscapes have largely been ignored and yet it has been shown here that he was working in advance of all of his better known contemporaries. Well before the publications of Sir Walter Scott which are generally credited with having opened the Highlands to tourism, Hugh Williams was selling his watercolours and prints through the Glasgow print shops and his work was being copied by other artists. By 1793 he had established his own [short lived] Academy in Glasgow and by 1800, had exhibited a large watercolour of Kenmore on Loch Tay at the Royal Academy in London, many years in advance of his immediate Scottish contemporaries. Through his etchings, published in 1801, 1808 and 1814, his six large aquatints of Scottish scenery and his regular illustrative contributions to the Scots Magazine between 1804 and 1813, Williams had a great impact on the promotion of Scottish scenery, in Britain. Williams also had a large group of pupils among influential families in Scotland and perhaps Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, whose impact on the development of picturesque taste in Scotland is well established in his publications, was his most important. His friends too, such as the architects W. H. Playfair, C. R. Cockerell and Thomas Hamilton were strongly influenced by his ideas, and they went on to radically change the appearance of the built landscape in Scotland. The Greek Revival

movement began of course, before his exhibitions of Greek views, but Williams added zest to the movement in Scotland by presenting the Classical monuments in full colour on a grand scale. He encouraged enthusiasm and purity of taste.

It has been shown that Hugh Williams worked in a tradition common to all watercolour painters but that he brought an unusual discipline to his practice. This has been shown to relate to the practice of colouring cloth in factories. The professional embroiderer Louis Ruffini has been shown, in the work of Margaret Swain, to have been an influential figure in the development of teaching at the Trustees Academy in Edinburgh and in introducing innovative Continental ideas into Scottish manufacturing. He has been shown here, his business failure notwithstanding, to have imbued Williams with a strong professional instinct combined with a delicate understanding of colour and line. It is this Continental sensibility, possibly developed by David Allan and encouraged by Alexander Nasmyth which is the most important contribution Williams made to Scottish artistic practice. The impact of his work in Scotland was slow to develop and indeed, it was probably the exhibition of his watercolours in the new National Gallery of Scotland from 1859 which re-kindled interest in the medium north of the border and led, indirectly, to the formation of the Royal Scottish Society of Painters in Watercolour in 1878. The English equivalents had been in operation since 1804.

Williams' delicate use of line and colour together with an enthusiastic response to light and shade, reinforced a Continental tradition already introduced into Scottish practice by Richard Cooper senior, at the Academy of St. Luke in 1729. This sensitivity was carried over into watercolour practice in all parts of the United Kingdom and abroad by Paul Sandby and Jacob More, while continuing to be practiced in Scotland by Margaret Adam. Cooper probably also introduced the concept of artists etchings into Scotland and found enthusiastic pupils in Sandby and in the Runciman brothers in Edinburgh. By the time Williams began to make prints the tasks of producing designs and making plates had become more rigidly demarcated so that he only rarely worked on the plate himself. It has been shown that he was an innovative printmaker in the soft ground technique and that he embraced publication as a more certain way of raising his artistic profile.

The way in which the work of Hugh Williams has been marginalised has been traced in the misconceptions about his colouring. The part played by fading in the distortion of public perception of his work has also been examined in the published record. Set against this loss of reputation, one example of his influence has been chosen for closer examination. This is the previously published discussion of the change which took place in the work of the greatest and most influential British watercolour painter, J. M. W. Turner after his second sojourn in Scotland, in 1818. It has been shown that Hugh Williams is almost certainly the source of Turner's change of technique after 1818, when he began to make use of a greatly simplified three colour system, omitting the grey dead colouring common in the work of all eighteenth century artists. Turner had the ability to turn this simple idea into a new and powerful means of expression, in both his oils and watercolours.

By gathering together various published and unpublished sources, it has been possible to build up a picture of the personality of Hugh Williams. From his friend Henry, Lord Cockburn it had been known that Williams was a gently refined man greatly committed to his chosen career. It had not been clear just how tireless Williams had been in pursuit of exhibition and publication. His sources of income are still not entirely clear but it appears that he was completely reliant on his teaching and publication for his livelihood - a remarkable achievement for a landscape painter in watercolours. He was clearly a very professional artist, sought after as a teacher and companion. From the new biographical portrait by Dr. Todd Thomson, and from the journal of Jessy Harden, Williams emerges as a highly respected figure with a good sense of humour. This is confirmed by the slightly wicked joke he played on the French traveller, Louis Simond, who published a small aquatint of what he thought was Fingal's Tomb after a drawing given to him by Williams (Cat. No. P. 72).

W. H. Playfair writing to C. R. Cockerell just a few days before the Williams' death, noted that he became seriously annoyed if any jug or basin should be brought into his room that was not of a pretty shape. It was this concern for aesthetic detail which marked the entire output of Hugh Williams.

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- 1 THORNBURY, Walter: The Life of J. M. W. Turner RA. London [1862], p. 195.
 - 2 Royal Incorporation of British Architects Library: Journal of C. R. Cockerell. Coc/Box 9/Folder 3, Vol. 2 [1822], pp. 63-70. On loan from the collection of Mrs. Crighton.
 - 3 Op. Cit. HALSBY [1986] p. 40.
 - 4 FINLEY, Gerald: Landscapes of Memory. Turner as Illustrator to Scott London [1980].
 - 5 POWELL, Cecilia: Turner in the South. Rome, Naples, Florence. New Haven and London [1987] p. 39, Fig. 42.
 - 6 Op. Cit. WILLIAMS [1820]: Vol. I, pp. 300-1.
 - 7 GAGE, John: Colour in Turner Poetry and Truth London [1969] p. 32. The earlier interest in this type of composition occurred during a visit Turner made to William Beckford's house at Fonthill in 1799. Turner made two broadly washed colour beginnings, inspired by the Altieri Claudes, recently purchased by Beckford, which became the basis of the larger views of the house he exhibited at the Royal Academy in May 1800. Turner's views hung in the same room as Williams' large view of Loch Tay Scotland.
 - 8 Op. Cit. GAGE [1969]: p. 124. There is another version of this composition, Crighton Castle with a Rainbow, at Yale [B. 1977. 14. 6299] but this is slightly faded.
 - 9 FINLEY, Gerald: 'A "New Route" in 1822, Turner's Colour and Optics', in Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute, London [1973] Vol. 36, pp. 385-90.
 - 10 OP. Cit. WILLIAMS [1820]: Vol. II, p. 113.
 - 11 ROBERTSON, David: Sir Charles Eastlake and the Victorian Art World Princeton [1978] p. 16.

APPENDIX I.

List of Works exhibited by Hugh Williams at the following venues.[With some additional works of particular interest]. The spellings throughout are those given.

Royal Academy, London.¹

1800. Address given as - Williams, Edinburgh.

704. View of Loch Tay in Scotland.

1815. Williams exhibited from 23 Duke Street, Edinburgh.

497. View of Glen Coe, Highlands of Scotland.

Associated Artists, London.²

1808. Opened at 20 Lower Brook Street, London. Hugh Williams exhibited from 4 St. Andrew Street, Edinburgh.

53. Part of Caldicote Castle.

83. Conway Castle, North Wales.

84. Cattle Piece.

91. View near Goodrich Castle.

97. Cattle Piece.

99. Subject near Portanscale, Cumberland.

118. Stirling Castle.

120. Durham Cathedral.

125. Hill of Dundurn, Dunira.

142. Evening.

157. Furness Abbey.

174. Cottage at Duddingstone, near Edinburgh.

193. A Composition.

229. Sketch on the Avon.

233. View near Dundee.

1809. At 101 New Bond Street, London. Hugh Williams exhibited from the same address as previously.³

70. Cattle Piece.

74. Loch Ord, North Highlands.

91. View near Castle-town Brae Mar, North Highlands.

104. View near Edinburgh.

105. Waterfall.

- 161. Cattle Piece.
- 164. Cattle Piece.
- 169. Watering Place near Edinburgh.
- 172. Cattle Piece.
- 188. Cattle.
- 195. Cattle Piece.

Associated Artists, Edinburgh.⁴

1808. [Artists in Scotland].

None.

1809. [Artists in Scotland].

None.

1810. Opened 9th April, closed 26th May. At 16 York Place, that is, Henry Raeburn's house.

[Artists in Scotland]. Williams exhibiting from St. Andrews Street. [Given as W. Henry Williams in list but correctly in catalogue].

88. An Autumnal Breeze, with a distant View of Caerphilly Castle, Wales.

126. Landscape, composition, Evening.

141. An effect after a Shower. A scene upon the river Till.

154. View of the Cathedral of Durham.

1811. Opened 8th April, closed 25th May. At 16 York Place. [The Associated Society of Artists]. Williams exhibiting from 10 Duke Street.

2. Dunfermline Abbey.

10. The Ghost's Glen - Loch Katrine. (Oil Painting.)

20. Cattle Watering - Evening.

154. Ben Venue, from the Glen of the Trossacks, Loch Catherine in the distance.

171. Goodrich Castle, on the Wye, South Wales.

173. Caergwerlie Castle.

175. Cottage near Edinburgh.

180. Cattle Watering - Evening.

181. Carisbrooke Castle.

1812. Opened 6th April, closed 23rd May. At 32 York Place. [The Associated Artists]. Williams exhibiting from 23 Duke Street.

102. Glencoe.

118. Kelso.

1813. Opened 5th April 1813, closed 29th May. At 32 York Place. [The Associated Artists]. Williams exhibiting from 23 Duke Street.

86. Castle Campbell.

140. A View in Wales.

1814. Opened 11th April, closed 28th May. At 32 York Place. [Edinburgh Exhibition of Paintings]. Williams exhibiting from 10 Duke Street.

45. Kilburn Castle, Loch Awe.

48. View on the Thames.

56. Finlarigg, on Loch Tay.

58. Landscape, Composition - Evening.

120. Drawing, distant View of Elgin.

133. Drawing, South Tower of Exeter Cathedral.

134. Drawing, Head of Loch Hourn.

135. Drawing, Interior of the Chapel of Holyrood House, coloured upon the spot.

137. Drawing, St. Kilda.

138. Drawing, Kidwelly Castle, South Wales.

143. Sketch from Nature.

150. Sketch for a large Picture.

1815. Opened 10th April, closed 29th May. At 32 York Place. [Edinburgh Exhibition of paintings]. Williams exhibited from 23 Duke Street.

72. View of Edinburgh.

1816. At 32 York Place. [Edinburgh Exhibition of Paintings]. Williams exhibited from 23 Duke Street, to remove at Whit Sunday to 65 North Castle Street.

25. Drawing in Black Lead, of an Old Willow at Portobello.

51. A study from Nature, coloured on the Spot.

95. Cattle Watering.

101. Loch Hourn.

102. [Sketch of Mr. Williams by a young gentleman].

106. Lime Wharf, Dartmouth.

107. Loch Lomond.

108. Landscape.

110. Landscape - Autumn.

111. Old Houses in Exeter.

112. Landscape.

120. Frame of various Sketches from Nature.

145. View of Durham Cathedral.

Royal Institution for the Encouragement of the Arts in Scotland.⁵

1821.

None.

1822.⁶

None. [Portrait of Hugh Williams by Henry Raeburn.]

1823.

None.

1824. Opened 12th March, closed 24th March. At 24 Waterloo Place. Williams exhibited from 65 Castle Street.⁷

25. Citadel of Corfu, Epirus in the Distance.

26. View from Inchmartine, an eminence in Hillside Grounds.

27. Romantic Rocks at Dunbar.

28. Study from Nature.

29. Composition.

30. Village of Crisso, looking towards the vale of Amphissa, from Mount Parnassus.

31. Distant View of Athens from the East.

32. Group of Trees near Musselburgh.

33. Part of Dunbar Castle.

34. Study of Rocks.

35. Composition.

36. Composed from Scenery in the Vale of the Pleistus.

37. Lime-Kiln near Exeter.

38. The Acropolis of Athens. In the foreground the Pnyx or Ancient Forum, cut out of the Rock, from which the Athenians were addressed by their Orators.

39. Portrait View from the top of the Tower at Hillside near Aberdour.

1825. [Hugh Williams listed as an Associate Member].

None.

1826. At the Building of the Royal Institutions [Princes Street]. Hugh Williams listed as RIA from this year.⁸

91. Restoration of a Greek Town, Island of Salamis. [Oil painting?].

1827.

17. River Scenery, painted after the manner of the Venetians. [Oil painting?].

83. Castle Urquhart, Lochness.

93. Part of Tintern Abbey.

107. Conway Castle.

108. Scene near Ariano, Calabria. Painted after the manner of the Venetians. [Oil painting?]

117. Rock Scenery. Painted after the mode of the Venetians.

156. Strophades, now Strivali.
157. Livadia.
158. Caritina Arcadia.
159. Composed from Scenery in the Vale of Pleistis.
160. Academic Grove, Athens restored.
161. Landscape.
162. Temple of Apollo, Lake Avernus.
163. Corinth.
164. Caerphilly Castle, Wales.
165. Plain of Marathon.
166. View of Florence.
171. Part of the Temple of Minerva, Athens.
172. Temple of Jupiter Olympius.
173. Mount Olympus.
174. Scene on the River Pellene Achaia.
175. Landscape, composed from Swiss Scenery.
176. Scene in Corfu.
177. Athens.
178. Eleuses from the Thracian Plain.
179. Cardamoula Arcadia.
180. Mount Vodia, as seen near Patras.
181. Frame, containing Four Drawings-
 1. The Schiste on Mount Parnassus.
 2. Temple of Apollo, Lake Avernus.
 3. Chaeronea.
 4. Scene in Calabria, near Ariano.
227. Mistra, the Ancient Sparta.
1828. Opened 9th February. In the Gallery of the Royal Institution. Hugh Williams exhibited from 2 St. Colme's Street.⁹
46. Group of Trees near Arrochar.
49. Promontory of Sunium from the Sea. Painted for the Royal Institution.
1829. Opened 9th February. At the Gallery of the Royal Institution. Hugh Williams exhibited from same address as previous.
9. Paestum.
33. Mountain Scene in Albania.
164. The Shepherd's Boy.
1830. [The late Hugh Williams RAI].
135. Cape Colonna. The property of the Institute.

Northern Society for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts, Leeds.

1823.

16. View of Athens. Out of the Collection of B. Gott Esq.

1825.

362. Scene in the Glen of Ghosts, Loch Kittern.

366. Picturesque lime-kiln, near Exeter.

385. Rocks at Dunbar Castle, coloured on the spot.

386. Plain of Platea, from Mount Cithaeron.

389. [Portrait of Hugh Williams Esq. Author of *Select Views in Greece*, by W. J. Thomson].

393. Athens, from the hill of the Museum.

396. Thebes, in Greece.

412. The Roman Forum, from the Capitol.

Exhibition of Views in Greece, Italy, Sicily, and the Ionian Islands.¹⁰

1822. Opened 1st February closed 6th April. Re-opened for one day, 8th April, in aid of funds for the National Monument. At the Calton Convening Room, Waterloo Place, Edinburgh.¹¹

1. View of the most remarkable Ruins in the Acropolis of Athens.
2. Corinth, anciently Ephyre and Corinthus, on the Isthmus which joins Peloponnesus to Greece Proper.
3. View of Naples.
4. The Temple of Fortuna Virilis in Rome.
5. The Theatre of Herodes Atticus, at the foot of the Acropolis of Athens. (An unfinished Drawing.).
6. Rocks at Dunbar, painted on the spot.
7. The Remains of the Parthenon, or Temple of Minerva, at Athens.
8. View of the Plain of Plataea, in Boetia, as seen when looking down upon it from Mount Cithaeron. The figures are Greeks.
9. Thebes in Boetia.
10. Church at Dunbar, a sketch from Nature.
11. Temple of Pandrosus.
12. Glencoe. Study from Nature, coloured on the spot.
13. Ruins in the Acropolis of Athens.
14. View of the Temple of Jupiter Olympius, on the plain to the right.
15. The Temple of Vesta in Rome, coloured from Nature.
16. The Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, in the Forum of Rome, coloured on the spot.
17. Wood Scene, a Study.
18. Cow, studied from Nature.

19. View of the Town of Patras, anciently Patrae, on the north-west extremity of the Morea.
20. The Fraternity of Dunfermline.
21. Distant View of the Acropolis of Athens, which is in the centre, crowned by the Ruins of the Parthenon.
22. Waterfall, Composition.
23. View of the Town of Taormini, anciently Tauromenium, on the Shore of Sicily, between Messina and Aetna, taken from a Garden near the Remains of the Great Theatre.
24. Loch Awe, a Study from Nature, completed on the spot.
25. Ancient Sarcophagi on the Plain of Plataea.
26. The Last Ray of the Setting Sun on Ben-Lomond, River Forth.
27. The Coliseum of Vespasian, in Rome.
28. Landscape. Composition with Cattle.
29. The City of Syracuse, the ancient Capital of the Island of Sicily.
30. Goodrich Castle, South Wales.
31. The Temple of Minerva Sunais, on the Promontory of Sunium, now Cape Colonna, the southern extremity of Attica, overhanging the Aegean Sea, at the entrance to the Saronic Gulph.
32. View in the Vale of Stirling, taken near the Village of Clackmannan.
33. View of the Temple of Jupiter Panhellenius, on the summit of a hill in the Island of Aegina, in the Saronic Gulf.
34. View of St Peter's, with part of Rome.
35. The Castle of St Angelo, on the Tiber, formerly the Mausoleum of Trajan.
36. View of the Valley of the Pleistus, in Mount Parnassus, taken from the Stadium of Delphi in Phocis. The Castalian Fountain is on the extreme left of the picture.
37. The Temple of the Sibyl at Tivoli, coloured on the spot.
38. Monument of Philopappus.
39. View of Athens, from the foot of Mount Anchesmus, looking south.
40. Composition, with Cattle.
41. View of the Acropolis of Athens, from the Hill of the Museum.
42. The Roman Forum, as seen from the Base of the Capitol.
43. Part of the Chapel of Holyroodhouse.
44. View of the supposed Site of the Gardens of Alcinous, in the Island of Phaeacia, afterwards Corcyra, now Corfu.
45. The Temple of Theseus at Athens, a Sketch, coloured on the spot.
46. Cottage at Firth, near Edinburgh, painted on the spot.
47. Sketch from Nature, in Black Lead.
48. Sketch of a Highlander, in Pencil.
49. Chestnut Trees, in the Island of Inchmahame, Loch of Monteith.
50. Scene in the Vale of Servos, near Chamouni.

51. Group of Fir Trees, Study from Nature in Chalk and Crayons.
52. A finished Study from Nature, in Black Lead.
53. Frame, containing six Drawings, in number as follows:
 1. Glacier on Mount Blanc.
 2. Castle Urquhart, on Loch Ness.
 3. Lake above the Valley of Urquhart, Inverness-shire.
 4. Cassino, near the City of Naples, looking towards the Island of Capria.
 5. The Castalian Fountain, as seen from the valley of Pleistus. The Village Castri (anciently Delphi) appearing below the peaks of Parnassus. The remains of the Temple of Minerva may be traced on the right hand, and on the left is the supposed site of the temple of Apollo.
 6. Temple of Minerva Sunias, as seen from the Saronic Gulph.
54. Fishing Boat, a Sketch.
55. The Temple of Clitumnus, on the source of the Clitumnus, near Spoleto in Italy.
56. A Greek Dance, at Athens.
57. Frame, containing six Sketches, or Portraits, of Greek Sailors.
58. Peasant Girl, a Sketch.
59. Antiquities discovered at Athens in 1816.
60. Portrait of a Greek Lady and Servant.
61. Frame, containing six drawings, in number as follows:
 1. Landscape composition.
 2. The Temple of the Sibyl, composition.
 3. Scene in Corfu, from Mount Peleca.
 4. Temple of Theseus, with the Acropolis of Athens.
 5. Eastern end of the Temple of Minerva, by moonlight.
 6. The Temple of Minerva Sunias.
62. Groupe of Fir Trees, Study from Nature, in Chalk.
63. Loch Ranya Castle, with Herring Fishing-Boats, a Study from Nature.
64. Principal Entrance to the Priory of Inchmahame, in the Island of Inchmahame, Loch of Menteith, painted on the spot.
65. Cattle, Study from Nature.
66. Group of Trees at Swanston, near Edinburgh.
67. Dunkeld, with the junction of the Bran and Tay, painted on the spot.
68. Fishing Boat, a Sketch.
69. A Willow Tree near Portobello, finished on the spot.
70. Cottages at Duddingstone, near Edinburgh, painted on the spot.
71. The Temple of Venus in Rome, coloured on the spot.
72. Cottages at Killin, coloured from Nature.

73. Sketch from Nature, in Chalk.
74. The Temple of Venus in Rome.
75. Panorama of Athens.

Exhibition of Views in Greece, Italy, Sicily, the Ionian Islands, &c.¹²

1826. Opened 20th February. At the Calton Convenery Rooms, Waterloo Place, Edinburgh.

1. Landscape, partly from a picture by Francesco Mile.
2. Crisso, on Parnassus, looking towards the Vale of Salona. (Ancient Amphessa).
3. Cottage near Edinburgh.
4. View of the Acropolis of Athens, from the Hill of the Museum.
5. View of Athens, from the foot of Mount Anchesmus, looking south.
6. Marathon. From above the modern Village of Vrana.
7. Temple of Jupiter Panhellenius, on the summit of a hill in the Island of Aegina, in the Saronic Gulf.
8. Tomb of Cicero.
9. Lake of Avernus, near the Bay of Baiae, near Naples.
10. Groupe of Trees in Stirlingshire.
11. Swiss Scenery.
12. View in the Vale of Aberfoil.
13. Waterfall.
14. Temple of Jupiter Olympius.
15. Strophades, now Strivali.
16. Wood Scene.
17. View of the supposed Site of the Gardens of Alcinous, in the Island of Phaeacia, afterwards Corcyra, now Corfu.
18. Mount Olympus.
19. Sparta, now Misitra, in Laconia.
20. Grecian Scenery.
21. View of the Town of Patras, anciently Patrae, on the north-west extremity of the Morea.
22. Loch Ranza Castle, with Herring Fishing-Boats, a Study from Nature.
23. The Coliseum of Vespasian, in Rome.
24. View of the Plain of Plataea, in Boetia, as seen when looking down upon it from Mount Cithaeron. The figures are Greeks.
25. Remains of the Temple of Concord, in the Forum of Rome.
26. Edinburgh, from Arthur's Seat, partly coloured on the spot. A Beautiful engraving from this drawing, by Miller, is nearly completed.
27. A Greek Dance.
28. Temple of Venus at Rome, with part of the Arch of Constantine, Rome.
29. Peasant Girl.

30. Acropolis of Athens, and Temple of Jupiter Olympius.
31. Mountains of Epirus, (Albania), from Corfu. Anciently Corcyra.
32. Singular Rocks at the ancient Castle of Dunbar.
33. Tivoli.
34. The Temple of Theseus at Athens.
35. Storm, after Gaspar Poussin.
36. St. Peters, Rome.
37. Grecian Landscape, painted in oil.
38. Lime Kiln, near Exeter.
39. Ancient Sarcophaghi on the Plain of Plataea.
40. Landscape - Evening.
41. View of the Valley of the Pleistus, in Mount Parnassus, taken from the Stadium of Delphi in Phocis. The Castalian Fountain is on the extreme left of the picture.
42. The Roman Forum, as seen from the Base of the Capitol.
43. Corinth.
44. View of the most remarkable Ruins in the Acropolis of Athens.
45. Thebes, in Boeotia.
46. Scotch Fir Trees, in the Highlands.
- 47 & 48. Frame, containing a View of Terra Fiorolesi, on the way to Naples and Aqua Pendenti, in the Roman States.
49. Group of Trees, autumnal breeze.
50. Pastoral Scene, with Cattle.
51. Ben Lomond, taken near Aberfoil.
52. The Castle of St Angelo, on the Tiber, formerly the Mausoleum of Trajan.
53. The bay of Baiae.
54. Scene near Collington.
55. View of Naples, (anciently Parthenope or Neapolis), taken from a Vineyard near the Strada Nuova.
56. Temple of the Sybil at Tivoli.
57. Ben Lawers, Loch Tay.
58. Sketch of an Ancient Roman Gateway, Rome, done on the spot, near the Church of St. John, Lateran.
59. Acroceraunia.
60. Temple at Agrigentum in Sicily.
62. Cottages at Killin, coloured from Nature.
63. The City of Syracuse, the ancient Capital of the Island of Sicily.
64. Distant View of the Acropolis of Athens, which is in the centre, crowned by the Ruins of the Parthenon.
65. Alpine Scenery in Tuscany.

66. View in the Vale of the Pleistus, Mount Parnassus.
67. Civita-Castalana, Italy.
68. Fall of the Velino, Terni.
69. Mount Taygetus, from Misitra.
70. Distant View of Stirling.
71. Dunblane, coloured on the spot, from the Inn Window, near the Bridge.
72. Recollection of a Drawing by Havel, looking towards Lodore, Cumberland.
73. Corinth, anciently Ephyre and Corinthus, on the Isthmus which joins Peloponnesus to Greece Proper.
74. Ruins in the Acropolis of Athens.
75. Grecian Landscape, composed from scenery in Aegina.
76. Castalian Fountain, Mount Parnassus.
77. Temple of Venus at Rome.
78. Temple at Agrigentum, Sicily.
79. Greek Sea Port - restored.
80. Part of the Vatican, Rome.
81. Paestum, in the Gulf of Salerno, beyond Naples. Anciently Neptunia and Posidonia, a city of Magna Graecia.
82. Mount Parnassus.
83. The Town of Cardamyle, in Peloponnesus, in the Gulf of Coron.
84. River Scenery, approaching Pellene in Sicyonia, from the Gulf of Corinth.
85. Italian Landscape.
86. Bay of Naples.
87. Distant View of Edinburgh, from the Grounds of James Stuart, Esq. Hillside.
88. Acrocorinthus of Corinth.
89. Part of the Town of Livadia, on the River Hercyna, Ancient Lebadia.
90. Academic Grove, Athens.

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- 1 Source: Graves, Algernon: *The Royal Academy of Arts. A Complete Dictionary of Contributors*. . . 1769-1904. London [1906], Vol. VIII, p. 287(b) and p. 293(b). Graves confuses Hugh W. Williams with J. F. Williams RSA. on p. 287(b). J. F. Williams [1785-1846] would probably have been too young to exhibit in 1800.
 - 2 Source: *Published Catalogues of the First and Second Exhibitions of the Associated Artists in Water Colours*. London [1808], [1809], Victoria and Albert Museum, National Art Library.
 - 3 Reviews: *Ackerman's Repository*, June 1809, p. 493.
 - 4 Source: *Published Catalogues of Exhibitions by the Associated Artists*. Edinburgh, [1808-1816]. Edinburgh Public Library, Fine Art Library (WN. 5056. E23 [43601]).
 - 5 Source: *Published Catalogues of the Institution for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts in Scotland*. National Gallery of Scotland, Library.
 - 6 Review: *Edinburgh Weekly Journal* 10th April 1822 mentions the portrait of Williams by Henry Raeburn.
 - 7 Reviews: *Scotsman*. 13th March 1824, Vol. VIII, No. 436, p. 167(a) and 20th March 1824, Vol. VIII, No. 438, p. 183(a). Williams mentioned only.
 - 8 Reviews: *Edinburgh Weekly Journal*, 14th March 1826. Suggests that the picture is in oils.

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- 9 Reviews: *The Scotsman*, 3rd February 1828, Vol. XII, No. 845, p. 104(a-b) and 15th March 1828, Vol. XII, No. 854, p. 176(b-c). Williams named in first only.
- 10 Source: *Published Catalogue of Views in Greece, Italy, Sicily and the Ionian Islands*. Edinburgh [1822].
- 11 Reviews: *Caledonian Mercury*, 11th February 1822. *Edinburgh Weekly Journal*, 6th February 1822.
- 12 Source: *Published Catalogue of Views in Greece, Italy, Sicily, the Ionian Islands, &c. &c.* Edinburgh [1826].

APPENDIX II.

Part of the chronology [up to 1804] of the known life of Hugh Williams, reprinted from the Introduction to this thesis. The known performances of 'Mr. Williams' have been superimposed.

The references to the Theatre Royal in Edinburgh [from Armstrong, 1968] are given in bold type. Norma Armstrong did not consider performances in Glasgow by Mr. Williams and these, from research which could not be considered exhaustive, are given in bold italics. Spellings have been taken as read.

Abbreviations:

- TRE. Theatre Royal, Edinburgh.
 TG. Theatre, Glasgow, later Theatre Royal.
 NCG. New Circus, Glasgow, later Royal Circus.
 RCG. Royal Circus, Glasgow.

- 1773 • Birth, from information on his tomb, Canongate Churchyard, Edinburgh.
- 1790 • Living in lodgings in Dalkeith, near Edinburgh, paid for by Louis Ruffini.
- 4th December. TRE. FRANCIS in Henry IV Part. 1.**
- 1791 **23rd February. TRE. NATIVE in The Death of Captain Cook.**
- March. Sequestration of Louis Ruffini begins in Glasgow.
- 21st March. TRE. SAMSON in Isabella or The Fatal Marriage.**
- 11th April. TRE. As SIR SAMUEL SHEEPY.**
- 16th April. TRE. WITCH in Macbeth.**
- 14th May. TRE. Dr. DAVID in The Fashionable Lover.**
- 1792 • First signed and dated watercolour The Clyde and Forth Canal [PC].
- 1793 • 2nd March. Advertises a Drawing Academy in Glasgow in partnership with Alexander Galloway, Miniature Painter.

30th April. NCG. GUARD in Panto, Tales of Arabian Nights.

4th May. NCG. BANDITI in Panto, Assassination.

- 18th June. Advertises Drawing Academy.

1794 • October. Publishes an etched outline, High Church and Infirmary of Glasgow from the North East.

1795 **16th March. TRE. CARLOS in The Revenge.**

18th April. TRE. in The Wheel of Fortune.

20th April. TG. LORD RANDOLPH in Douglas. ["his first appearance here"]

- June 23rd. Drawing Master, C. Buchanan, Glasgow, advertises that he is using watercolours by Hugh Williams in his teaching.

- August 1st. Publication of an aquatint Craig Millar Castle by J. Eginton after Hugh Williams. Published by Jee and Eginton in Birmingham.

1796 **23rd January. TRE. ALTAMOUNT in The Fair Penitent.**

20th February. TRE. SIR PERTINAX in A Man of Ten Thousand

27th February. TRE. CARLOS in The Parnell.

29th February. TRE. DAWSON in The Gamester.

5th March. TRE. CAPT. WOODVILLE in The Wheel of Fortune

11th March. TRE. THE KING in The King and the Miller of Mansfield.

16th March. TRE. LYSIMACHUS in The Rival Queen or the Death of Alexander the Great. Also as CAPT. SEYMOUR in The Irishman in London.

4th April. TRE. THE KING in Hamlet.

9th April. TRE. VASQUEZ in The Wonder, A Woman Keeps a Secret.

13th April. TRE. BELLANY in The Suspicious Husband.

14th April. TRE. LORD RANDOLPH in Douglas.

16th April. TRE. PHILARIO in Cymbeline.

18th April. TRE. TYBALT in Romeo and Juliet.

20th April. TRE. COL. TOWNLY in A Trip to Scarborough.

27th April. TRE. PATERSON in The Brothers.

5th May. TG. LORD RANDOLPH in *Douglas*.

7th May. TG. THE KING in *Hamlet* ["Mr. Williamson" - typographical error?].

10th May. TG. EARL OSMOND in *Tancred and Sigismunda*.

12th May. TG. FREDERICK in *The Wonder, a Woman Keeps a Secret*.

14th May. TG. THE KING in *Hamlet*.

26th May. TG. OSMOND [A Magician] in *King Arthur*.

9th June. TRE. SPATTER in *The English Merchant*. Also as MURRAY in *The Fall of Rizzio or Mary Queen of Scots*.

11th June. TRE. SIR CHARLES LESLIE in *The Bank Note or Lesson for Ladies*.

- 1797 • Painted scenery for a performance of The Capture of the Cape of Good Hope, (12th January) at Messrs Jones' Royal Circus, Glasgow. Transferred to Royal Circus, Edinburgh, 11th February - 21st February, 1797. Performance on 27th February at request of Duchess of Buccleuch.

12th January. RCG. BRITISH OFFICER in *The Capture of the Cape of Good Hope*. Also APOLLO in a *Panto, Olympian Revels or Harlequin Momus*.

- Signed and dated watercolour Landscape [Snowdon from Capel Curig...Wales][VAM].

- 1799 • Commissioned to illustrate an intended poem about Edinburgh by Thomas Campbell [1777-1844], 'the Queen of the North'. Williams made drawings, some of which were made into plates but the publication did not take place.

- 1800 • Exhibited View of Loch Tay, In Scotland at the Royal Academy, London.

- 1801 • January. Reported to be working on etchings, in the vicinity of Edinburgh. Said to be 'of this place'.
- March. Publication of four aquatints by J. Merigot after Hugh Williams in John Stoddart's Remarks on Local Scenery and Manners in Scotland, during the years 1799 and 1800, London.

- April. Publication of Etchings of Local Subjects - intended to assist in the study of Nature, by P. Garof, Printseller, Edinburgh, for Hugh Williams.

27th June. TRE. SIR BENJAMIN BACKBITE in The School for Scandal.

29th June. TRE. BELVILLE in Rosina

- around 8th July. Subscription set up in Glasgow in aid of Louis Ruffini.

20th July. TRE. WOUNDED CAPTAIN in Macbeth and as a SINGING WITCH.

21st July. TRE. AMIENS "with a song" in As You Like It.

- 1802 • Publication of etching Hermitage Castle, Liddesdale by W. Walker after Hugh Williams in Walter Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, Kelso.

- 1803 • Living at 4 South St. Andrew Street, Edinburgh.

- 1804 • January. First Frontispiece illustration published in Scots Magazine.

Continued to contribute until 1813.

- 29-30th May. Louis Ruffini imprisoned for debt.

- 11th July Decree of Cessio Bonorum in favour of creditors of Louis Ruffini.

He is imprisoned again in Edinburgh.

6th August. TRE. VALVERDE in Pizarro by R. Sheridan.

A SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HUGH WILLIAM WILLIAMS [1773-1829].

A select bibliography of items which refer specifically to the artist. Items are listed under the following headings:

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Exhibition Catalogues.

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-----: Parish Registers, Honiton. Baptisms 1770-1786. Mary Williams, 5th April 1771.

-----: Marriages 1770. John Williams of this Parish and Mary Soper of the same. By banns, 22nd February 1770.

EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY LIBRARY: MSS. La. II 426/468. Letter from H. W. Williams to William Miller, dated by postmark, 1825.

-----: MSS. Dc. 5. 113. A group of nine letters bound as a journal, although the letters, as they were written to different people, overlap. With various paginations, now foliated in pencil. All references to foliation. f.1-10v, to James Douglas, dated Genappe, 12th July 1816; f. 11r-18v, to Samuel Douglas, dated Mayence, 23rd July 1816; f. 19r-28r, to Sir James Shaw, dated Basle, 31st July 1816; f. 29r-36v, to James Douglas, dated Geneva, 8th August 1816; f. 37r-52r, to Sir James Shaw, dated Florence, 27th August 1816 (ends Leghorn, 8th September); f. 53r-66r, to Sir James Shaw, dated Florence, September 1816 (ends Leghorn, on return from Elba, 26th September); f. 67r-84r, to James Douglas, undated (detailed description of Elba); f. 85r-102r, to Samuel Douglas (addressed to Sir James Shaw, posted Rome, 11th December 1816) and f. 103r-112r, to James Douglas, dated Corfu, 6th March 1817.

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-----[1827] 13th February. Nos. 17, 83, 93, 107, 108, 117, 156-166, 171-181, 227.

-----[1828] Nos. 46, 49.

-----[1829] 9th February. Nos. 9, 33, 164.

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CHRISTIES: Edinburgh [1989] 27th April, Lot 507*

-----[1990] 26th April, Lots 501-547.

-----[1993] 13th May, Lot 815(a).

: London [1843] 9th June (George Rennie), Lot 5.

-----[1858] 8th May (Joseph Parkes), Lots 1 and 2.

-----[1881] 22-23rd July, Lot. 89.

-----[1966] 22nd February, Lots 67, 76.

-----[1967] 6th June, Lot 85.

-----[1968] 6th February, Lots 99, 127; 23rd April, Lot 118; 14th May, Lot 32.

-----[1969] 3rd June, Lot 37; 10th June, Lot 134; 21st October, Lot 76; 11th November, Lot 158; 25th November, Lots 125, 126, 127.

-----[1970] 20th January, Lot 132; 3rd March, Lot 80; 28th April, Lot 98, 138; 16th June, Lot 117; 27th October, Lot 36

-----[1971] 26th January, Lot 88; 2nd March, Lot 181; 20th April, Lot 159; 13th July, Lots 22, 165; 12th October, Lot 39.

-----[1972] 15th February, Lot 29; 16th May, Lot 228; 10th July 1972, Lot 72*; 3rd October, Lot 48, 174; 7th November, Lot 250.

-----[1973] 23rd January, Lots 337, 338; 6th March, Lots 74*, 102; 17th April, Lots 139, 140; 8th May, Lot 184; 5th June, Lots 18, 19; 24th July, Lot 128; 31st July, Lots 85, 86, 87; 9th October, Lot 24; 6th November, Lots 73, 91; 18th December, Lot 60.

-----[1974] 3rd January, Lots 167, 168, 169; 12th February, Lots 27, 28, 118; 5th March, Lots 56*, 121, 122; 6th August, Lot 170; 19th November, Lot 139.

-----[1975] 4th March, Lots 115*, 116*, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121; 18th March, Lot 29; 20th May, Lot 10; 17th June, Lot 22; 4th November, Lots 77, 86; 17th December, Lot 71.

-----[1976] 2nd March, Lot 89, 106*, 107; 8th June, Lots 54, 92.

-----[1977] 1st March, Lots 140, 141*.

-----[1979] 20th March, Lot 155*; 20th November, Lot 118.

-----[1980] 18th March, Lots 23*, 292*; 28th May, Lot 15; 18th June, Lot 86*.

- [1982] 16th March, Lot 87*; 15th June, Lot 147*; 26th October, Lot 37.
 -----[1983] 19th July, Lot 42; 15th November, Lot 92*, 233*.
 -----[1984] 16th February, Lot 25; 10th July, Lot 246*, 24th July, Lot 99; 20th November, Lot 112.
 -----[1985] 19th March, Lot 85.
 -----[1986] 25th November, Lot 104*.
 -----[1987] 24th March, Lot 69.
 -----[1989] 11th July, Lot 152*.
 -----[1990] 20th March, Lot 161*.
 -----[1991] 9th July, Lot 77*; 12th November, Lot 82.
 -----[1995] 25th April, Lots 17*, 86*.

DOWELL'S: Edinburgh [1867] 7th December, Lots 123, 179, 187, 280. (VAM).

-----[1869] 13-16th February, Lots 106, 217, 218, 256, 361, 362, 374. (VAM)

-----[1880] 20th March, Lots 113, 114. (VAM).

-----[1884] 8th March, (John Lessels).

-----[1887] 12 & 14th March, (James T. Gibson Craig [1799-1886]) Lots 846, 856, 864, 869, 873, 879, 889, 899, 909, 919, 929, 939, 959, 1035. Also, 30-31st March, Lots 6, 249, 253-258, 309, 413. (RCAHMS, Edinburgh)

DOWELL, James: Braco Castle [1849] 3rd July (George Drummond Stewart of Braco), Lots 1040 to 1046.

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NISBET, Thomas: Edinburgh [1855] 10th November (Robert Pitcairn), Lot 15. (NLS).

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-----[1858] 16th January (W. H. Playfair), Lots 12-20. (A. Macbean), Lots 38-150. (NLS).

-----[1859] 18th June (Col. Ferguson and others), Lot 160. (NLS); 9-10th December (David Stuart, Earl of Buchan), Lot 441. (NLS).

PHILLIPS: London [1981] 19th October.

-----[1991] 22nd April, Lot 211.

SOTHEBY'S: Glasgow, Central Hotel [1976] 30th November, Lot 22.
 -----: Gleneagles [1991] 27th August, Lot 776.
 -----: Hopetoun [1977] 15th November, Lot 178.
 -----: London [1966] 12th January, Lot 14; 25th May, Lot 80; 21st December, Lot 343.
 -----[1967] 17th May, Lot 249; 23rd November, Lot 115.
 -----[1968] 17th October, Lots 165, 166; 21st November, Lot 98.
 -----[1969] 24th July, Lot 3a; 20th November, Lot 63.
 -----[1970] 19th March, Lot 148; 21st May, Lots 195, 196; 16th July, Lot 196;
 22nd October, Lots 186, 187.
 -----[1971] 28th October, Lots 73, 158, 159, 160; 18th November, Lot 78.
 -----[1972] 20th April, Lots 24, 100; 20th July, Lots 81, 82, 83, 100; 22nd July,
 Lot 216.
 -----[1973] 5th April, Lot 107*, 132; 31st May, Lots 58, 104, 110; 1st November,
 Lot 197.
 -----[1974] 10th January, Lots 72*, 136; 11th April, Lots 100, 104; 23rd May,
 Lot 51; 20th June, Lot 174; 18th July, Lot 161; 7th November, Lots 31, 168; 21st November, Lots
 101*, 102*.
 -----[1975] 26th March, Lot 175; 11th September, Lot 98.
 -----[1976] 15th July, Lots 155, 156; 14th October, Lot 113; 18th November,
 Lot 128.
 -----[1977] 24th March, Lot 161; 19th May, Lot 259; 15th November, Lot 178.
 -----[1978] 16th March, Lot 118; 20th July, Lot 117.
 -----[1979] 22nd March, Lot 103; 17th May, Lot 21; 19th July, Lot 178; 13th
 September, Lot 162; 22nd November, Lots 89, 90, 196.
 -----[1980] 13th March, Lot 155; 10th April, Lots 52, 53; 22nd May, Lot 81;
 24th July, Lot 247*; 13th November, Lot 159.
 -----[1981] 19th February, Lot 98; 16th April, Lot 197; 16th July, Lot 152*; 16th
 October, Lots 1*, 32*, 36*, 43*; 22nd October, Lot 56.
 -----[1982] 18th March, Lot 143*; 29th April, Lot 211*, 158*; 22nd July, Lot 75*.
 -----[1983] 30th March, Lot 152*; 28th April, Lot 33; 21st July, Lot 104*; 21st
 September, Lots 434, 449.
 -----[1984] 17th May, Lot 212*; 21st November, Lot 81.
 -----[1985] 11th July, Lot 139*.
 -----[1986] 13th March, Lot 140*.
 -----[1987] 4th November, Lots 307*, 314*, 315*.
 -----[1988] 14th July, Lots 90*, 91*, 92*.
 -----[1989] 27th April, Lots 302, 825*; 13th July, Lot 37; 16th November, Lots
 67, 114*.
 -----[1990] 15th February, Lot 128*.

-----[1991] 23rd October, Lots 122*, 191*, 192*.

-----[1992] 9th April, Lot 23*.

-----[1993] 16th November, Lot 192.

-----[1994] 14th July, Lot 73.

-----[1995] 12th April, Lot 67*.

-----[1995] 13th July, Lot 79.

-----: Sussex [1991] 20th May, Lot 362.

-----[1993] 13th October, Lot 2131*.

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-----[1836] 1-16th February (Thomas Sivright),
Lot 1706. (NLS)

TAIT, C. B. and Co.: Edinburgh [1837] 13-15th April (Alexander Gordon/William Laing), Lots 137, 138, 139, 143, 180, 235. (NLS).

-----[1844] 30th November (Capt. Sandilands of Couston), Lot 70.
(NLS).

TAIT AND NISBET: Edinburgh [1841] Jan? 30th March Lots?

-----[1846] 9-11th April, (Widow of Rev. John Thomson of
Duddingston), Lots 67-81.

-----[1848] 22nd January, Lot 80. (NLS).

-----[1849] 7th April, Lot 18; 5th May, Lots 146 to 148. (NLS).

-----[1852] 4th December, Lot 19.

WRIGHT, Francis: Edinburgh [1824] 17th May (Col. Wright?), Lots 23, 49, 143.

-----[1836] 21st January, (Unidentified, but probably Alexander
Smith, Banker, who died at the Clerk of Eldin sale in 1833), pp. 6, 7. (VAM)

TABLE OF FIGURES

Colour Plate I. WILLIAMS, H. W.: Watercolour, The Temple of Poseidon, Cape Sunion c.1828, NGS] following p. 126.

Colour Plate II. WILLIAMS, H. W.: Watercolour, View of the Clyde from Dunotter [1797, PC] following p. 135.

Colour Plate III. TURNER, J. M. W.: Watercolour, Crichton Castle [c.1818, TG] following p. 219.

Colour Plate IV. WILLIAMS, H. W.: Watercolour, Castle Campbell [1796, PC] following p. 220.

Frontispiece. RAEBURN, Henry :Oil on canvas, Portrait of Hugh Williams [c.1822, NPG].

Figure 1:1. Sampler of embroidered designs. Courtesy of Margaret Swain, p. 34.

Figure 1:2. ALLAN, David: Watercolour, Evening Amusement, Rome [1769, GAGM] p. 39.

Figure 1:3. ALLAN, David: Watercolour, Moffat Mineral Well [1795, NGS, on loan from the Trustees of Mrs. M. S. Erskine] p. 40

Figure 1:4. ALLAN, David: Etched and coloured outline, View of the High Street of Edinburgh [1793, YCBA] p. 41

Figure 1:5. WILLIAMS, H. W.: Watercolour, Landscape [1816, PC] p. 43.

Figure 1:6. [WILLIAMS, H. W.?] :Watercolour, St. Bernard's Well, Dean Village, Edinburgh [c.1790] p. 45

Figure 1:7. NASMYTH, Alexander: Watercolour, Edinburgh from St. Anthony's Chapel [1789, NGS] p. 46.

Figure 1:8. Detail of Figure 1:7.

Figure 1:9. NASMYTH, Alexander: Pencil drawing, A Farmyard Gate [c.1804, NGS] p. 48.

Figure 1:10. 'R.C.': Pencil drawing, Table Land, Cape of Good Hope - from Hodges [BM] p. 55.

Figure 1:11. Advertisement from the Glasgow Courier [7th March 1793] p. 57.

Figure 1:12. WILLIAMS, H. W., after DOUGLAS, Lady Jane Margaret: Watercolour, A Distant View of Dalkeith Palace [1796, PC] p. 58.

Figure 1:13. A member of the FORBES DRUMMOND family: Watercolour, Llangollen [PC] p. 60.

Figure 1:14. WILLIAMS, H. W.: Watercolour, Llangollen [PC] p. 60.

Figure 1:15. DICK-LAUDER, [Sir] Thomas: Watercolour, Relugas House [c.1803, PC] p. 60.

Figure 1:16. HARDEN, John: Watercolour, Dairy Maid and boy milking a Cow [PC] p. 63. From FOSKETT, Daphne John Harden of Brathay Hall 1772-1847 London [1974] pl. XIV.

Figure 1:17. STIRLING, Rev. Williams MacGregor: Etching, View of Gateway to Mausoleum p. 66. From STIRLING, W. M.: Notes Historical and Descriptive of the Priory of Inchmaholme Edinburgh [1815] opp. p. 95.

Figure 1:18. WILLIAMS, H. W.: Drawing, Waterloo [PC] p. 84.

Figure 1:19. WILLIAMS, H. W.: Watercolour, Ruins in the Acropolis of Athens [PC] p. 96.

Figure 2:1 WILLIAMS, H. W.: Watercolour, Dunira [1804, PC] p. 125.

Figure 2:2 WILLIAMS, H. W.: Watercolour, Crissa on Parnassus [c.1825, PC] p. 125.

Figure 2:3 STEVENSON, James: Watercolour, Marfield Lint Mill from the South West [c.1807, PC] p. 131.

Figure 2:4 DURER, Albrecht: Watercolour, View of the Arco [1495, LV] p. 134.

Figure 2:5 WILLIAMS, H. W.: Watercolour, The Clyde and Forth Canal [1792, untraced] p. 140.

Figure 2:6 SANDBY, Paul: Engraving, South View of Bothwell Castle [1751, NGS] p. 142.

Figure 2:7 WILLIAMS, H. W.: Watercolour, Lower Fall at Rydall [c.1797] p. 142-3.

Figure 2:8 WILLIAMS, H. W.: Watercolour, Waterfall [c.1797] p. 143.

Figure 2:9 TOWNE, Francis: Watercolour, Source of the Arveyron [1781, TG] p. 147.

Figure 2:10 WILLIAMS, H. W.: Watercolour, Old Houses, Exeter [1815, PC] p. 148.

Figure 2:11 JONES, Thomas: Watercolour, Houses in Naples [1782, BM] p. 148.

Figure 2:12 WILLIAMS, H. W.: Watercolour, Windsor Castle [PC] p. 149.

Figure 2:13 WILLIAMS, H. W.: Watercolour, Cowherd [PC] p. 150.

Figure 2:14 STEWART, James, etching after WILLIAMS, H. W.: Temple of Pandrosus, Acropolis of Athens from WILLIAMS, H. W.: Select Views in Greece, Part 6 [September 1826]. With additions by present author, p. 155.

Figure 2:15 WILLIAMS, H. W.: Drawing, Relugas [1823, PC] p. 161.

Figure 2:16 THOMSON, Rev. John: Oil on canvas, Glen of Altnarie [PC] p. 161.

Figure 2:17 Detail of Figure 2:16.

Figure 2:18 WILLIAMS, H. W.: Drawing, Subiaco [PC] p. 162.

Figure 4:1 COOPER, Richard Sen. [attrib]: Watercolour over pencil, Design for a Decorative Scheme [c.1751, NGS] p. 201.

Figure 4:2 COOPER, Richard sen.: Drawing, Male Nude Study [1759, BMAG] p. 202.

Figure 4:3 COOPER, Richard sen.: Etching, Portrait of Prince Charles Edward [1745, SNPG] p. 205.

Figure 4:4 ADAM, Robert: Etching, Two Trees in a Landscape [PC] p. 205.

Figure 4:5 SANDBY, Paul: Etching, Composition with Arthur's Seat Edinburgh [NGS] p. 206.

Figure 4:6 SANDBY, Paul: Etching, Portrait of a Sculptor [YCBA] p. 207.

Figure 4:7 SANDBY, Paul: Watercolour, Distant View of Leith [1747, AM] p. 208.

Figure 4:8 SANDBY, Paul: Watercolour, South Prospect of Leith [1749, AM] p. 208.

Figure 4:9 SANDBY, Paul: Watercolour, Landscape with mill-house [VAM] p. 208.

Figure 4:10 WILLIAMS, H. W.: Watercolour, New Bothwell Castle from the Clyde [c.1797, PC] p. 209.

Figure 4:11 ADAM, Margaret: Watercolour, Some Trees in a rocky Landscape [PC] p. 209.

Figure 4:12 ADAM, Margaret: Watercolour, Landscape of Valley and Crags [PC] p. 209.

Figure 4:13 ADAM, Margaret: Watercolour, Pencil and Wash Drawing [PC] p. 209.

Figure 4:14 MORE, Jacob: Watercolour, A rocky Landscape [NGS] p. 211.

Figure 4:15 MORE, Jacob: Watercolour, Waterfall [1773, PC] p. 211.

Figure 4:16 MORE, Jacob: Watercolour, Salisbury Crags and St. Anthony's Chapel, Edinburgh [NGS] p. 211.

Figure 4:17 MORE, Jacob: Watercolour, A View from Terracina [YCBA] p. 213.

Figure 5:1 TURNER, J. M. W.: Drawing, The Statue of Apollo in the Gardens of the Palazzo Barberini [TG] p. 217.

Figure 5:2 WILLIAMS, H. W.: Drawing, The Statue of Apollo in the Gardens of the Palazzo Barberini [PC] p. 217

Figure 5:3 TURNER, J. M. W.: Watercolour, Coliseum in Moonlight [TG] p. 218.

Figure 5:4 TURNER, J. M. W.: Watercolour, The Arches of Constantine and Titus [TG] p. 218.

FIGURES.



Figure 1:1. Sampler of embroidered designs. Courtesy of Margaret Swain, p. 34.



Figure 1:2. ALLAN, David: Watercolour, Evening Amusement, Rome [1769, GAGM] p. 39.



Figure 1:3. ALLAN, David: Watercolour, Moffat Mineral Well [1795, NGS, on loan
from the Trustees of Mrs. M. S. Erskine] p. 40



Figure 1:4. ALLAN, David: Etched and coloured outline, View of the High Street of
Edinburgh [1793, YCBA] p. 41.

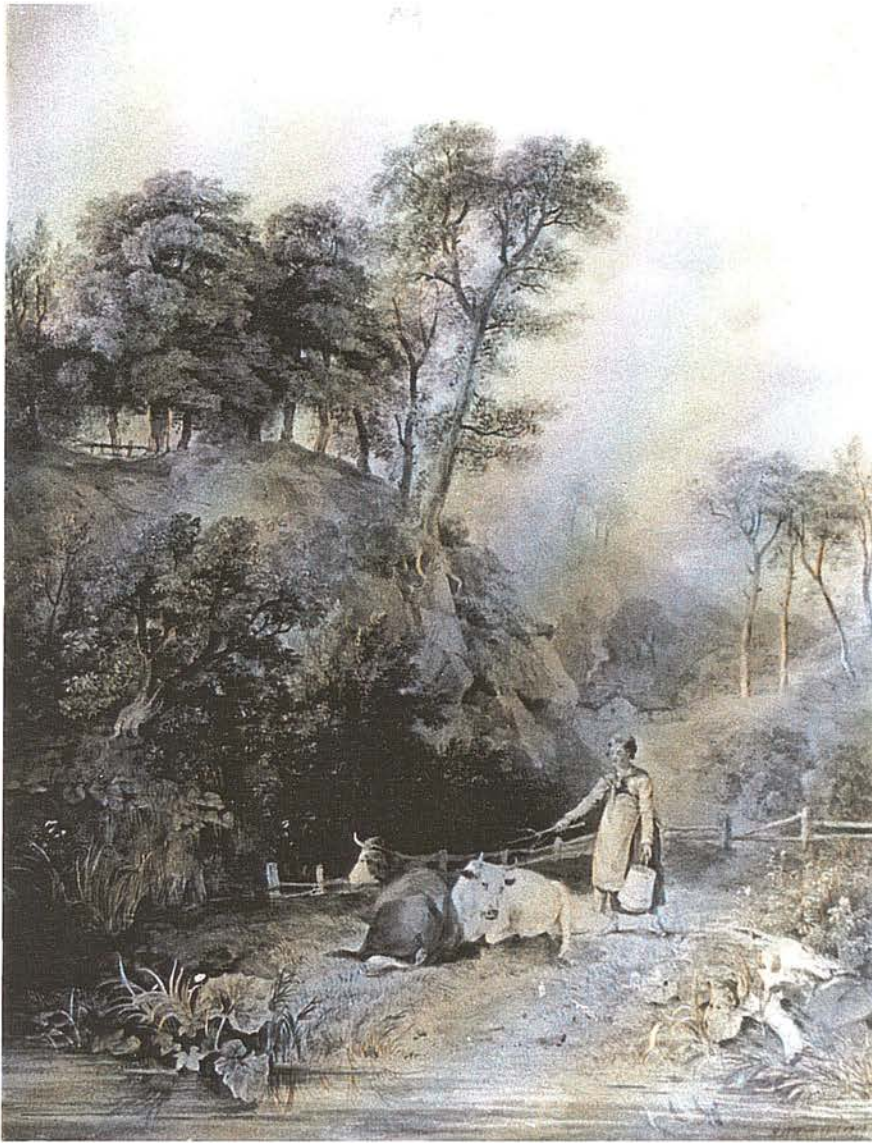


Figure 1:5. WILLIAMS, H. W.: Watercolour, Landscape [1816, PC] p. 43.



Figure 1:6. [WILLIAMS, H. W.?] :Watercolour, St. Bernard's Well, Dean Village,
Edinburgh [c.1790] p. 45



Figure 1:7. NASMYTH, Alexander: Watercolour, Edinburgh from St. Anthony's
Chapel [1789, NGS] p. 46.



Figure 1:8. Detail of Figure 1:7.



Figure 1:9. NASMYTH, Alexander: Pencil drawing, A Farmyard Gate [c.1804, NGS]

p. 48.

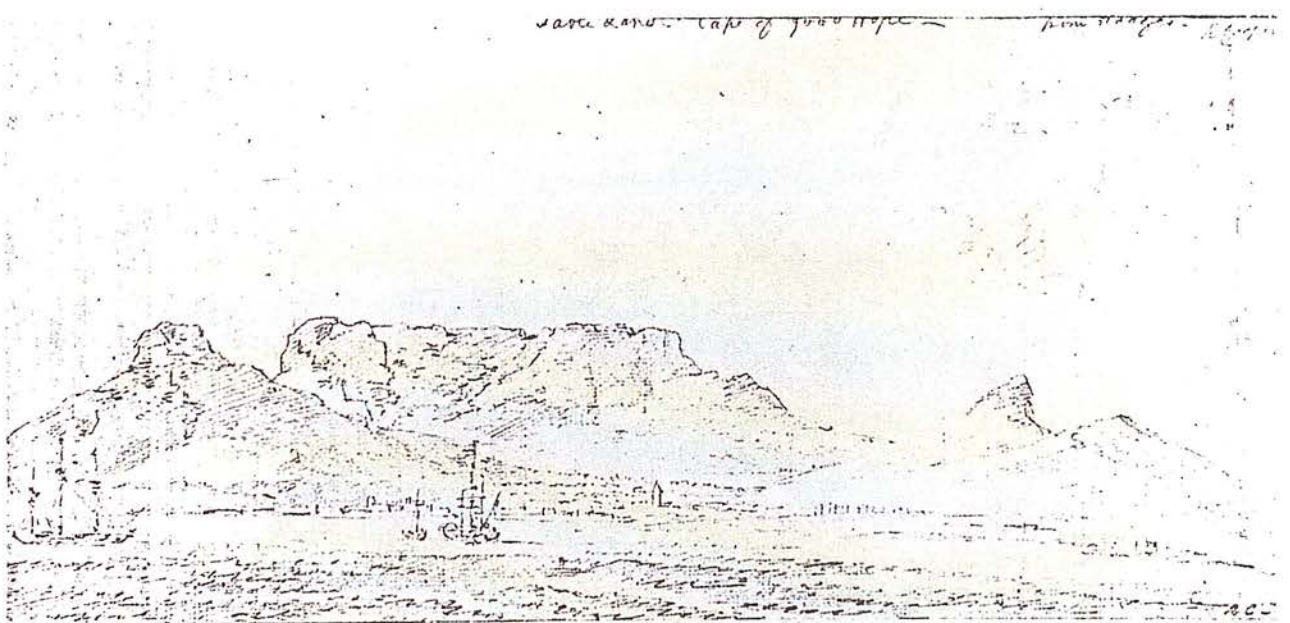


Figure 1:10. 'R.C.': Pencil drawing, Table Land, Cape of Good Hope - from Hodges

[BM] p. 55.

PROPOSALS,
FOR PUBLISHING, BY SUBSCRIPTION,
A VIEW
OF THE
HIGH CHURCH OF GLASGOW,

TAKEN ON THE SPOT,

By HUGH WILLIAM WILLIAMS,
Drawing Master and Landscape Painter, Glasgow.

CONDITIONS:

- I. The outline to be Etched, the Impressions coloured, and fitted upon Card-paper in manner of a Drawing.
- II. The size of the Picture to be $15\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $12\frac{1}{4}$.
- III. The Price to Subscribers will be Ten Shillings and Sixpence, to be paid on delivery.
- IV. A Number of the Views will be finished by the first of November, 1794, and care taken to serve Subscribers in order of Subscription.

H. W. W. has been at particular pains to take the Church in the most picturesque point of view, and should suitable encouragement offer, he means to make a Series of the interesting Scenes on the Clyde, and of the principal Lakes in Scotland, so much the objects of general admiration.

Specimens to be seen at the DRAWING ACADEMY, Horn's Court, and in the shop of DAVID NIVEN, Stationer, Trongate, Glasgow.

At D. Niven's shop may be had, just published,

The Artist's Complete Assistant in Drawing, Engraving, &c. price 1s.—A few original Drawings—Writing and Drawing Paper, all kinds—Pencils and Brushes—Reeve's Patent Water Colours, and most Articles in the Stationary line.

Figure 1:11. Advertisement from the Glasgow Courier [7th March 1793] p. 57.

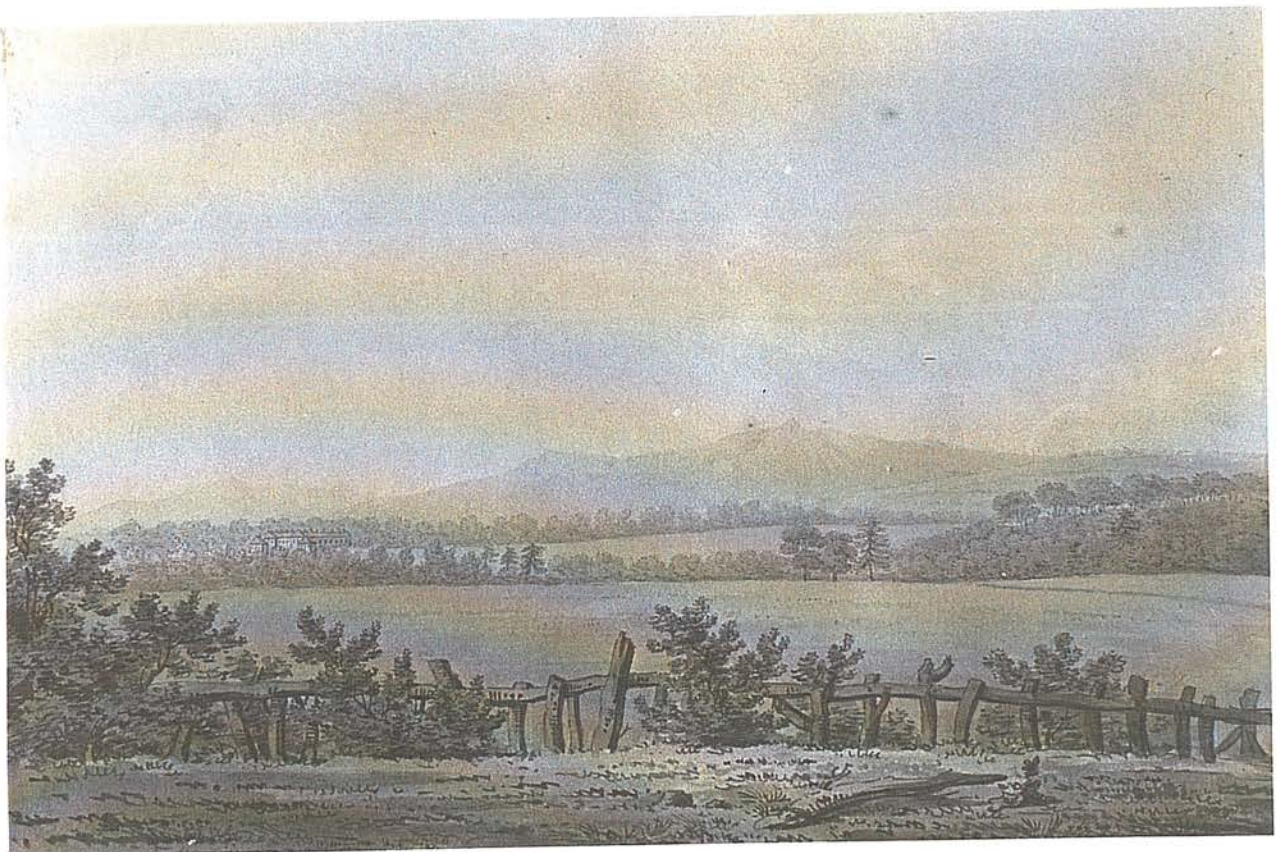


Figure 1:12. WILLIAMS, H. W., after DOUGLAS, Lady Jane Margaret: Watercolour,

A Distant View of Dalkeith Palace [1796, PC] p. 58.



Figure 1:13. A member of the FORBES DRUMMOND family: Watercolour,
Llangollen [PC] p. 60.

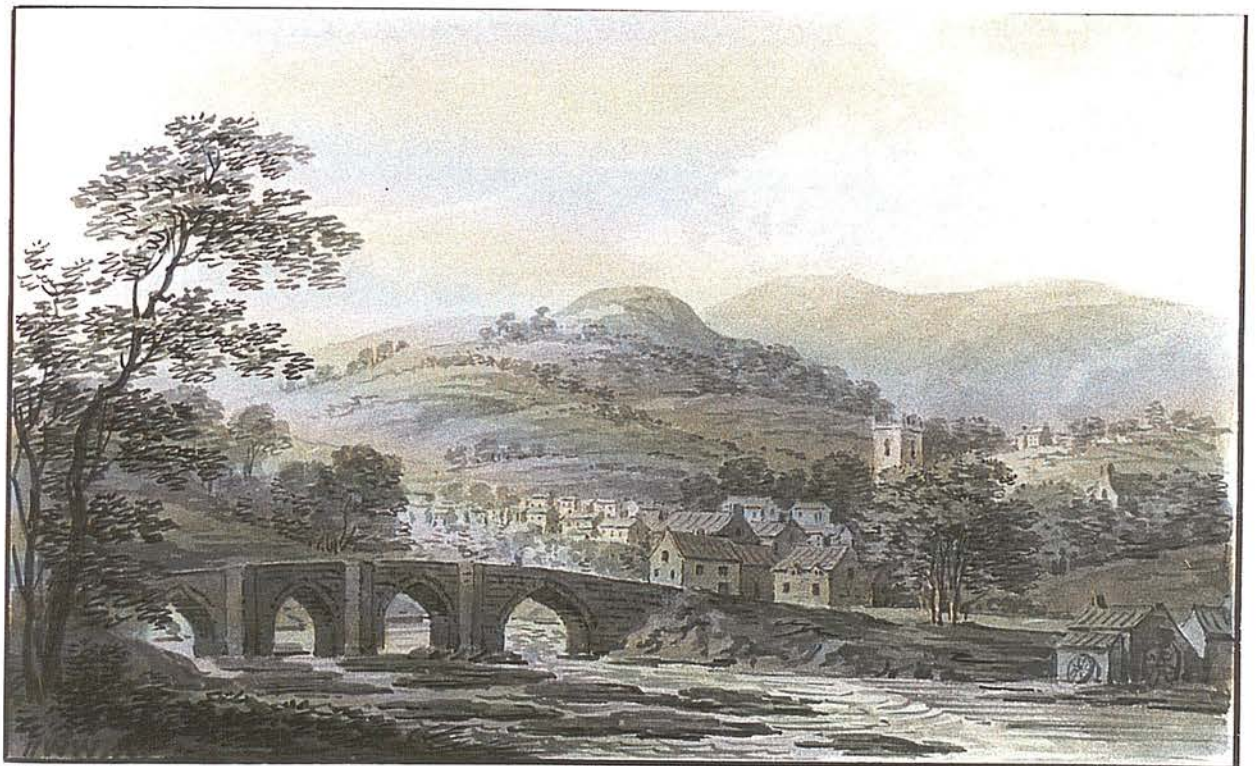


Figure 1:14. WILLIAMS, H. W.: Watercolour, Llangollen [PC] p. 60.

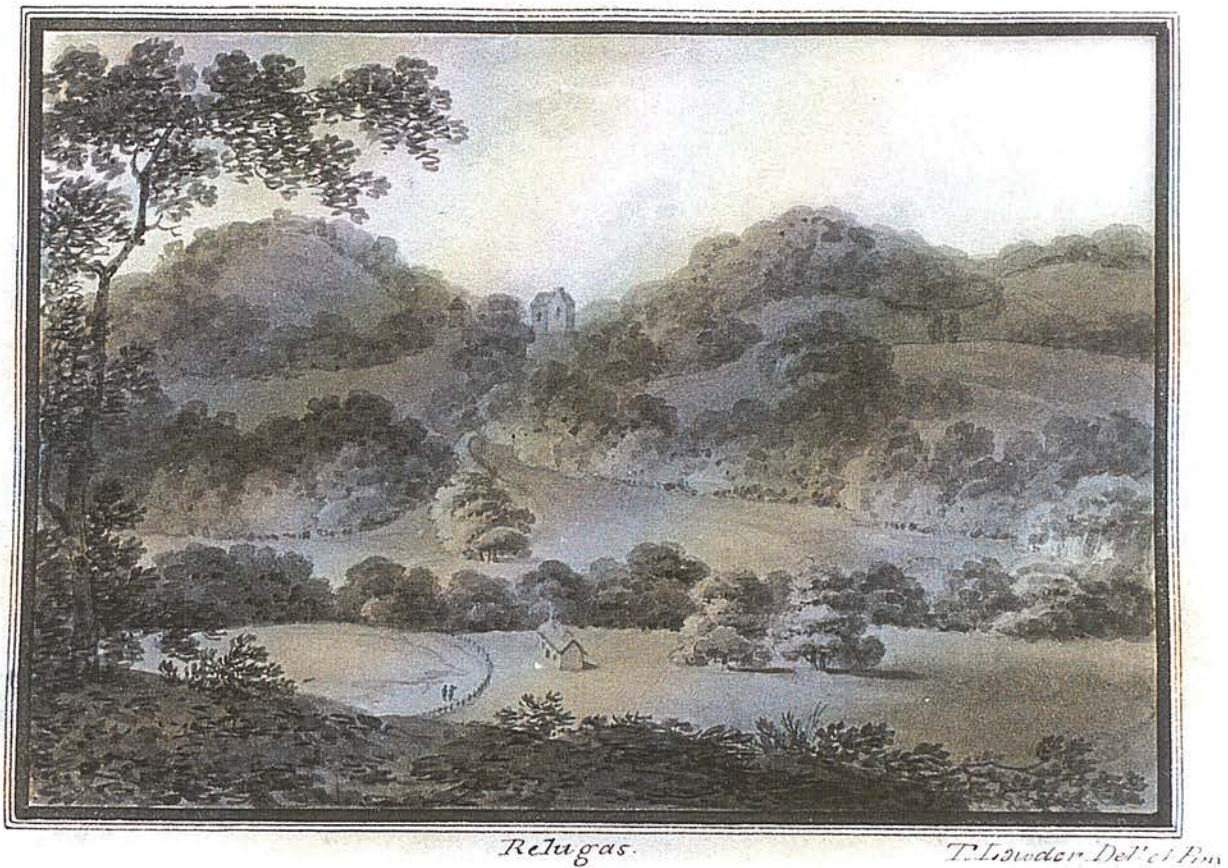


Figure 1:15. DICK-LAUDER, [Sir] Thomas: Watercolour, Relugas House [c.1803, PC]

p. 60.

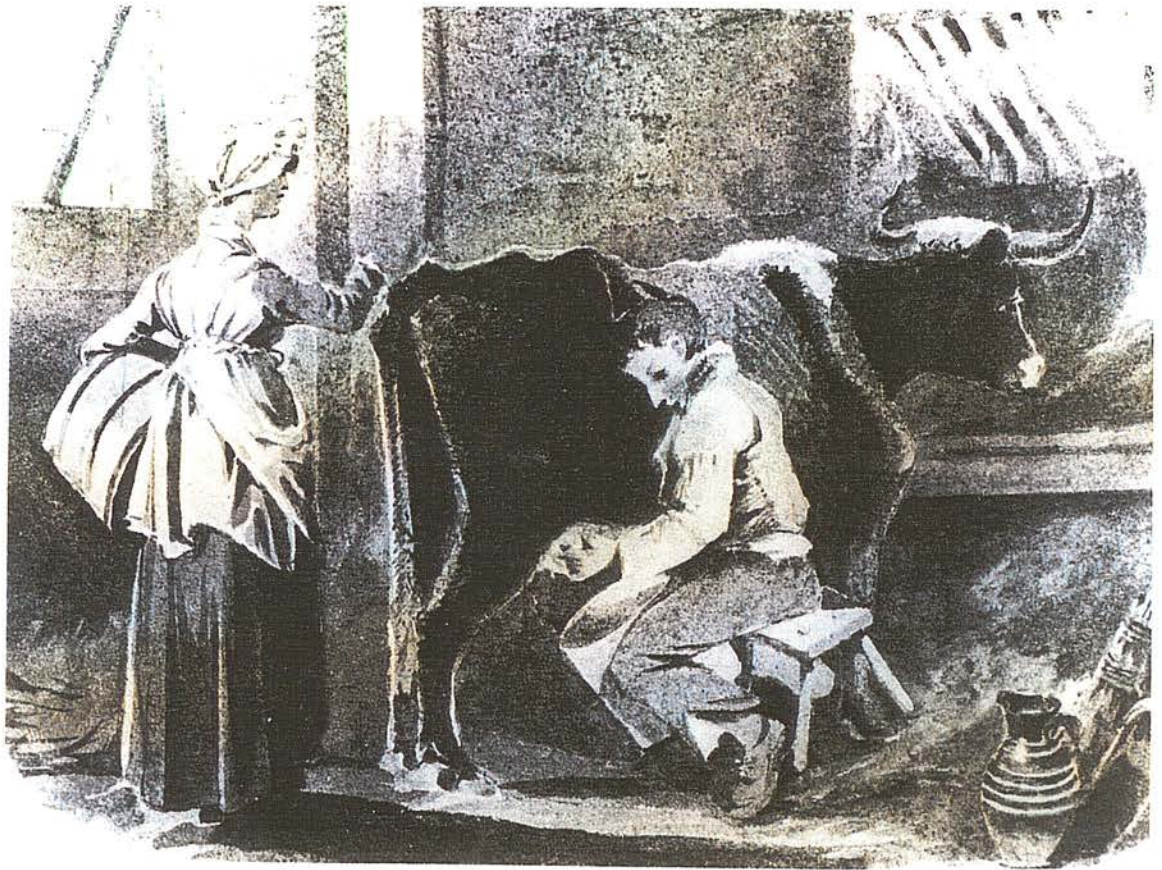


Figure 1:16. HARDEN, John: Watercolour, Dairy Maid and boy milking a Cow [PC]

p. 63. From FOSKETT, Daphne John Harden of Brathay Hall 1772-1847

London [1974] pl. XIV.

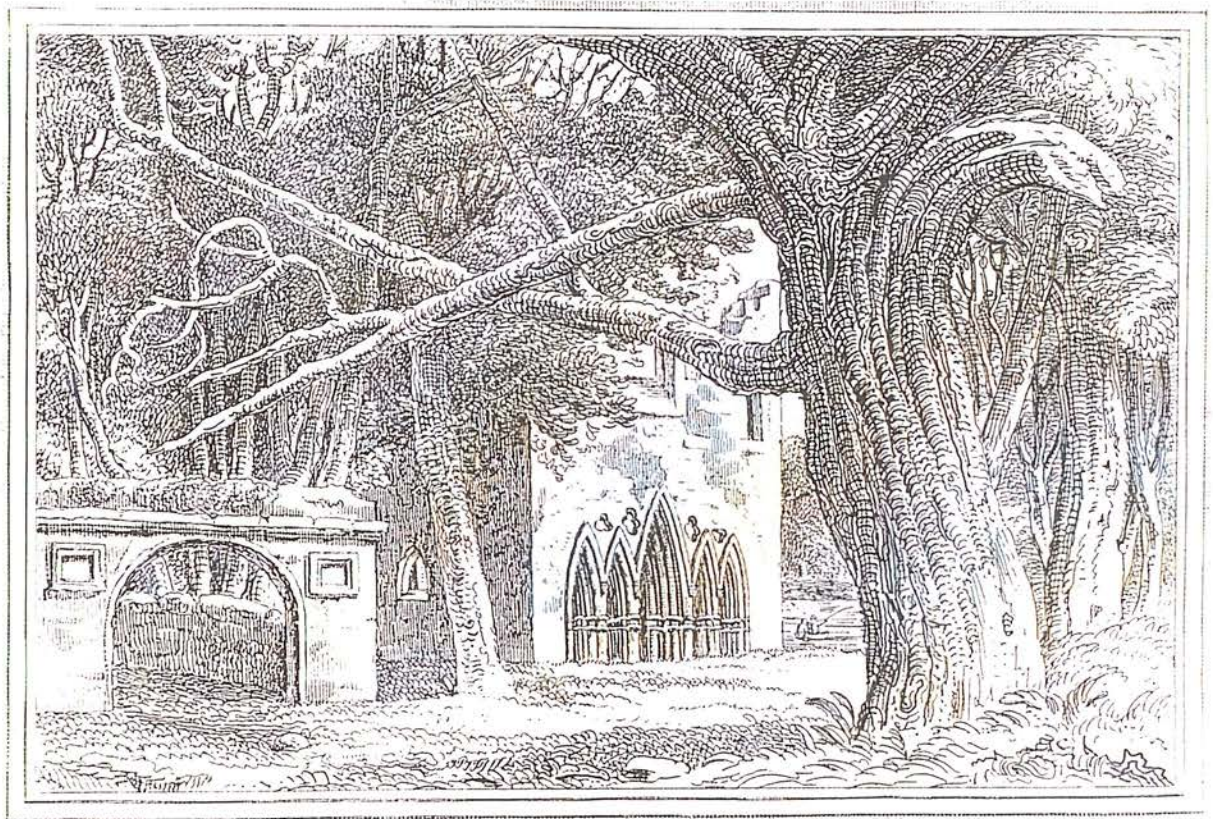


Figure 1:17. STIRLING, Rev. Williams MacGregor: Etching, View of Gateway to Mausoleum p. 66. From STIRLING, W. M.: Notes Historical and Descriptive of the Priory of Inchmaholme Edinburgh [1815] opp. p. 95.



Figure 1:18. WILLIAMS, H. W.: Drawing, Waterloo [PC] p. 84.

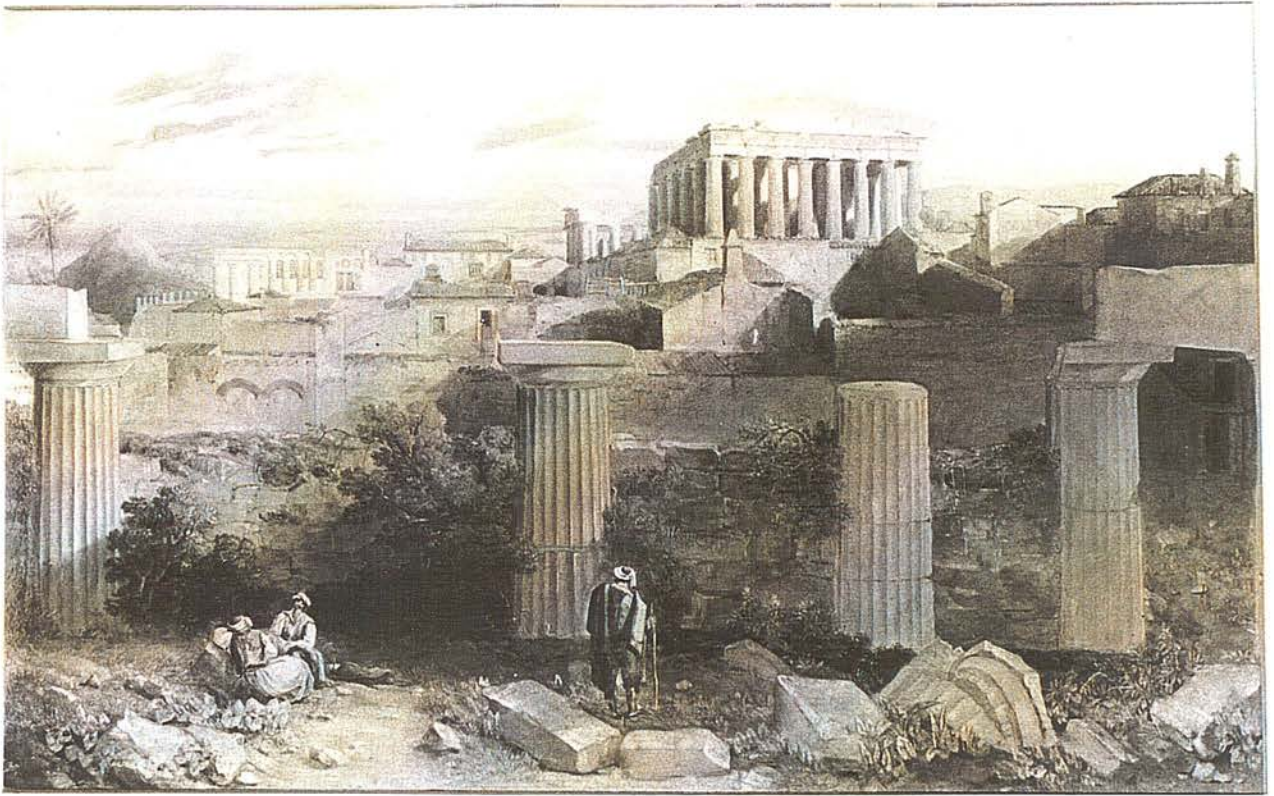


Figure 1:19. WILLIAMS, H. W.: Watercolour, Ruins in the Acropolis of Athens [PC]

p. 96.



Figure 2:1 WILLIAMS, H. W.: Watercolour, Dunira [1804, PC] p. 125.



Figure 2:2 WILLIAMS, H. W.: Watercolour, Crissa on Parnassus [c.1825, PC] p. 125.

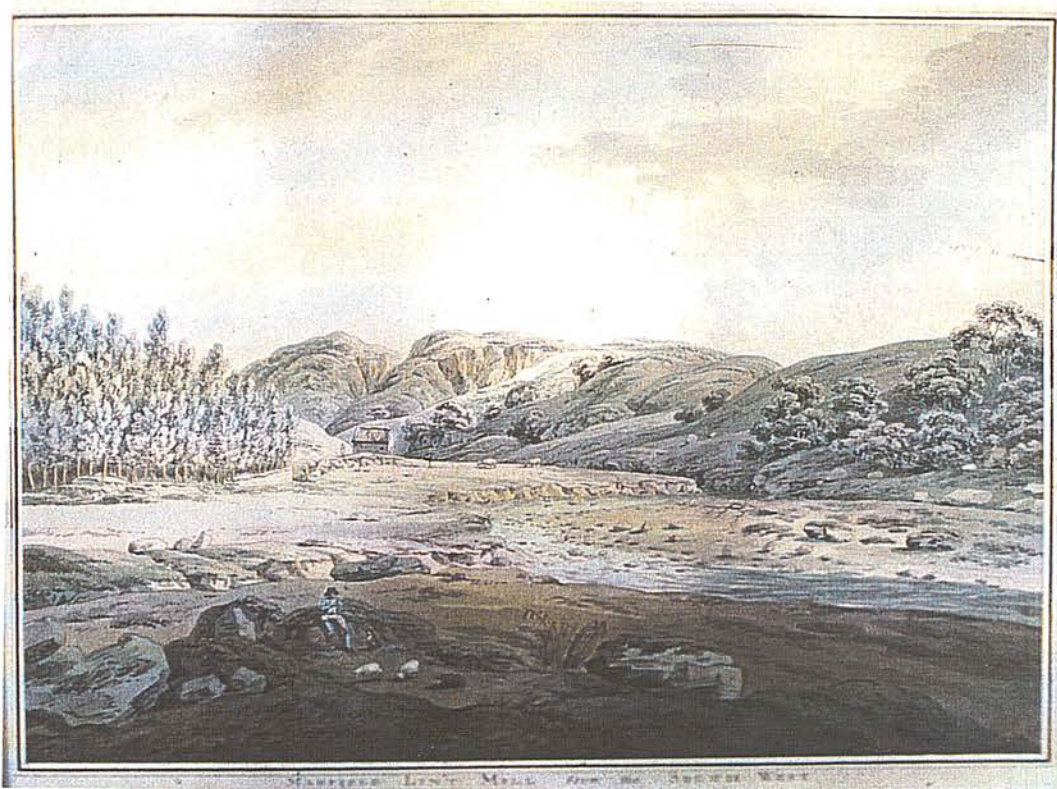


Figure 2:3 STEVENSON, James: Watercolour, Marfield Lint Mill from the South West [c.1807, PC] p. 131.



Figure 2:4 DURER, Albrecht: Watercolour, View of the Arco [1495, LV] p. 134.

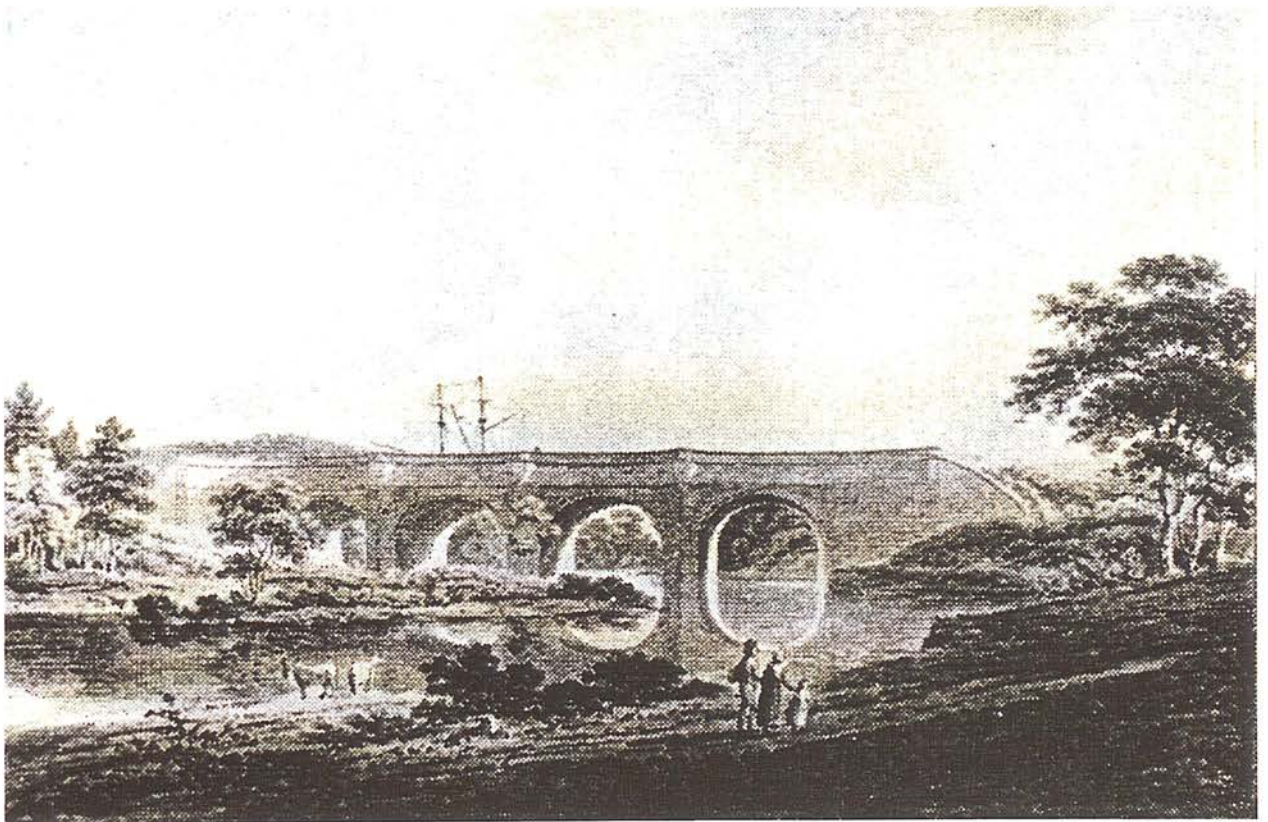
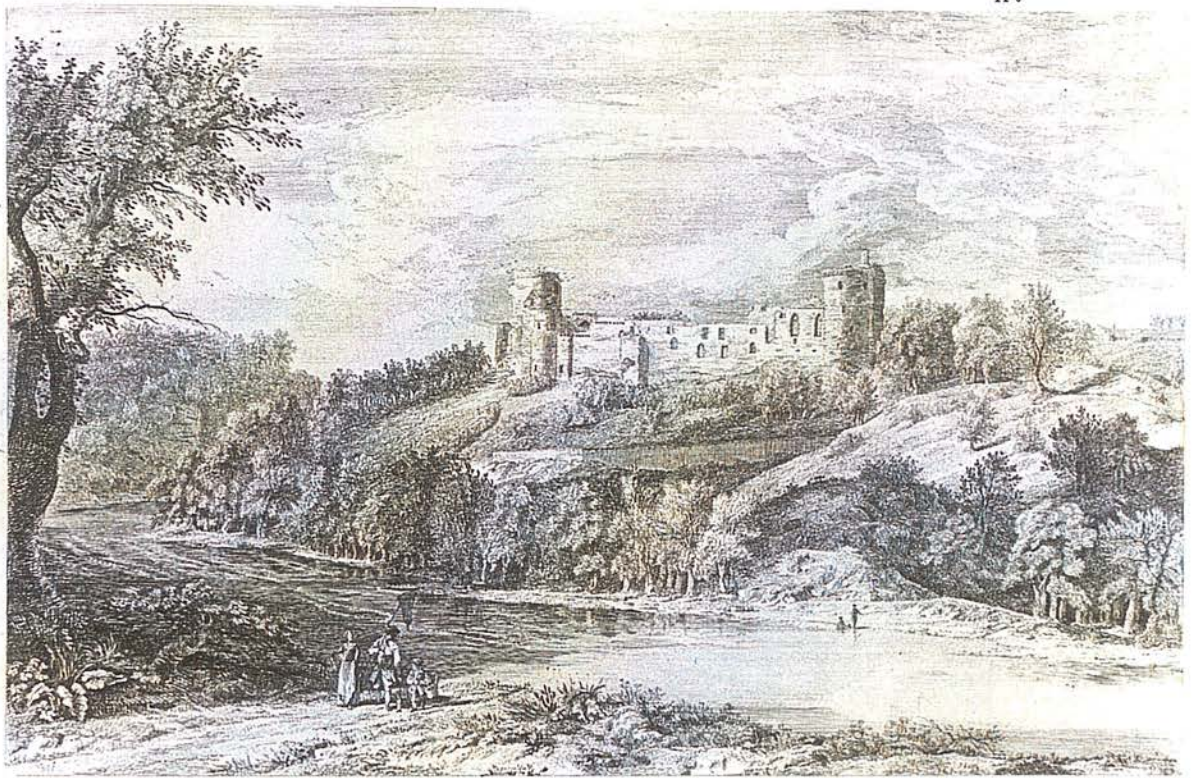


Figure 2:5 WILLIAMS, H. W.: Watercolour, The Clyde and Forth Canal [1792, untraced] p. 140.



South View of Bothwell Castle.

Published according to Act of Parliament 1751.

Figure 2:6 SANDBY, Paul: Engraving, South View of Bothwell Castle [1751, NGS] p.

142.



Figure 2:7 WILLIAMS, H. W.: Watercolour, Lower Fall at Rydall [c.1797] p. 142-3.

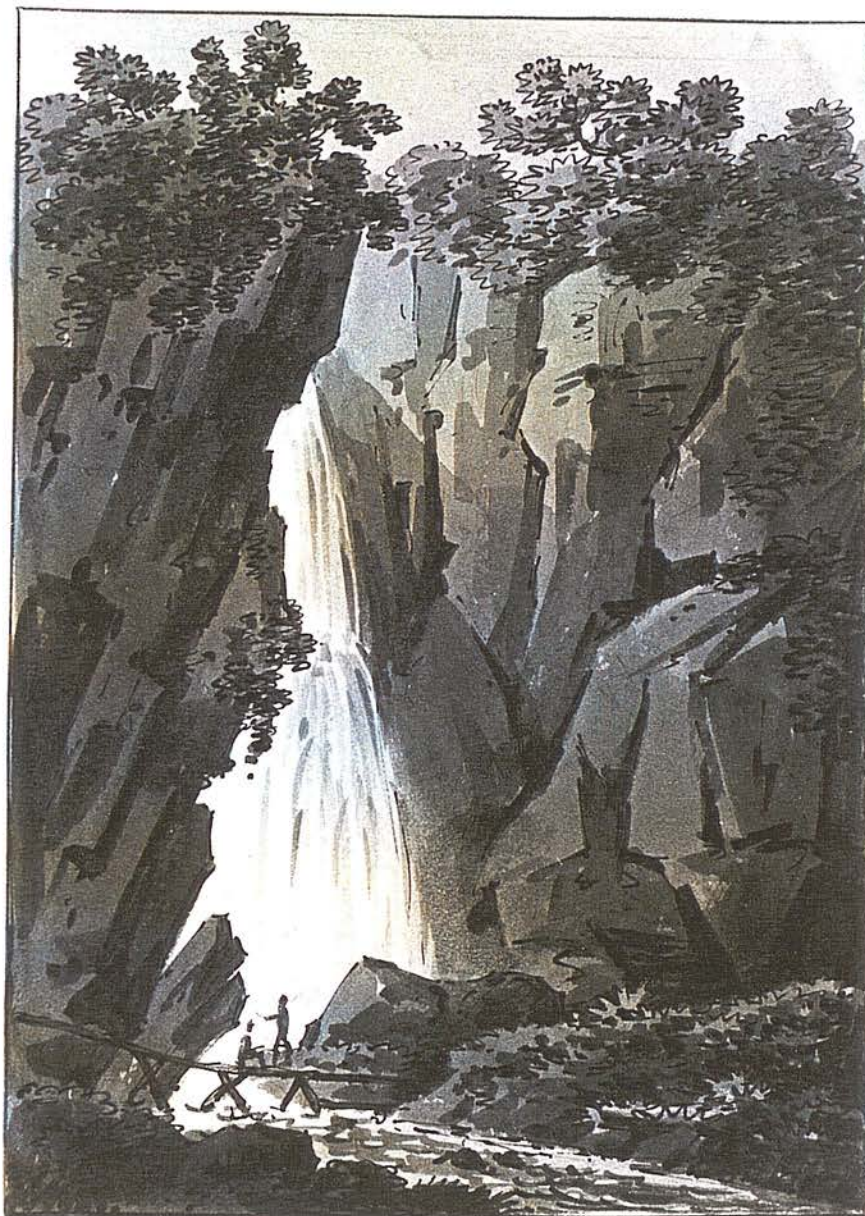


Figure 2:8 WILLIAMS, H. W.: Watercolour, Waterfall [c.1797] p. 143.



Figure 2:9 TOWNE, Francis: Watercolour, Source of the Arveyron [1781, TG] p. 147.



Figure 2:10 WILLIAMS, H. W.: Watercolour, Old Houses, Exeter [1815, PC] p. 148.

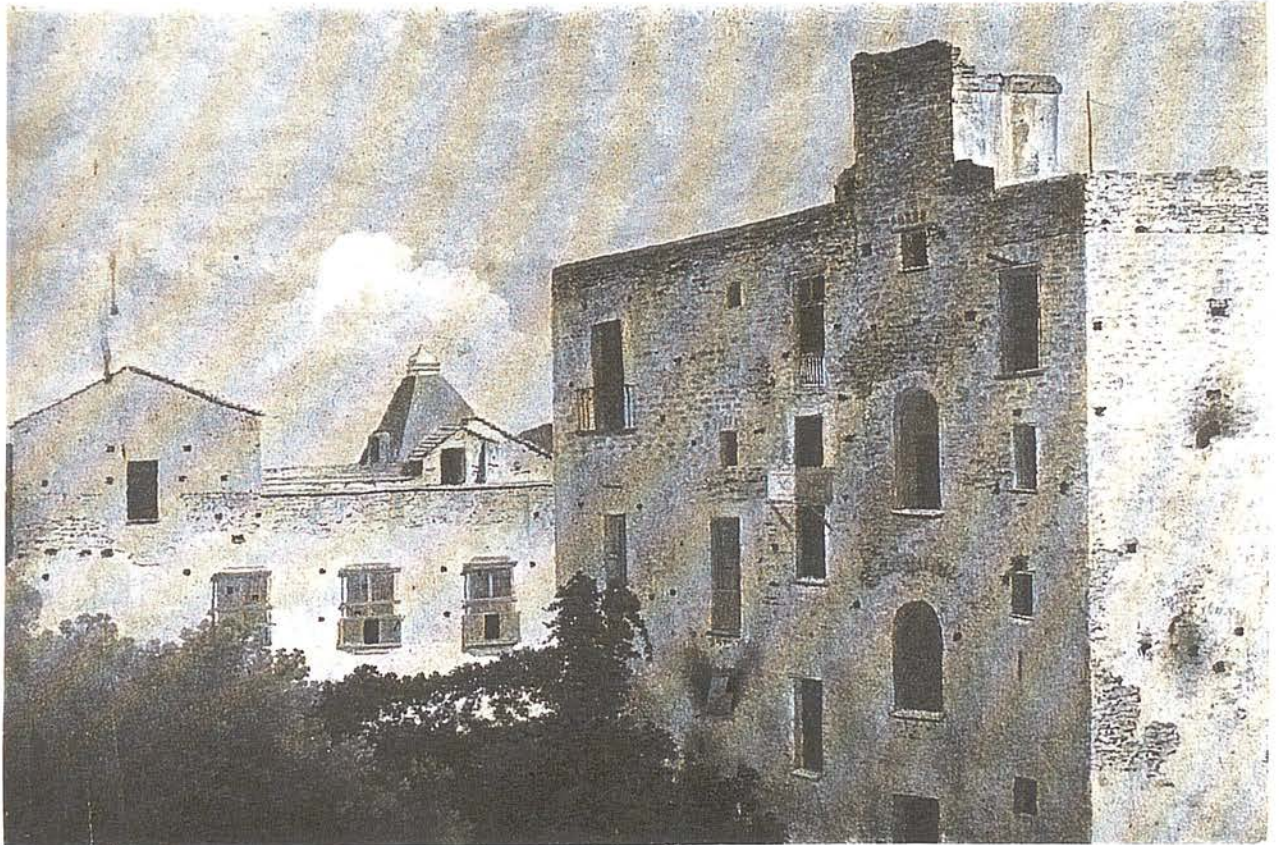


Figure 2:11 JONES, Thomas: Watercolour, Houses in Naples [1782, BM] p. 148.

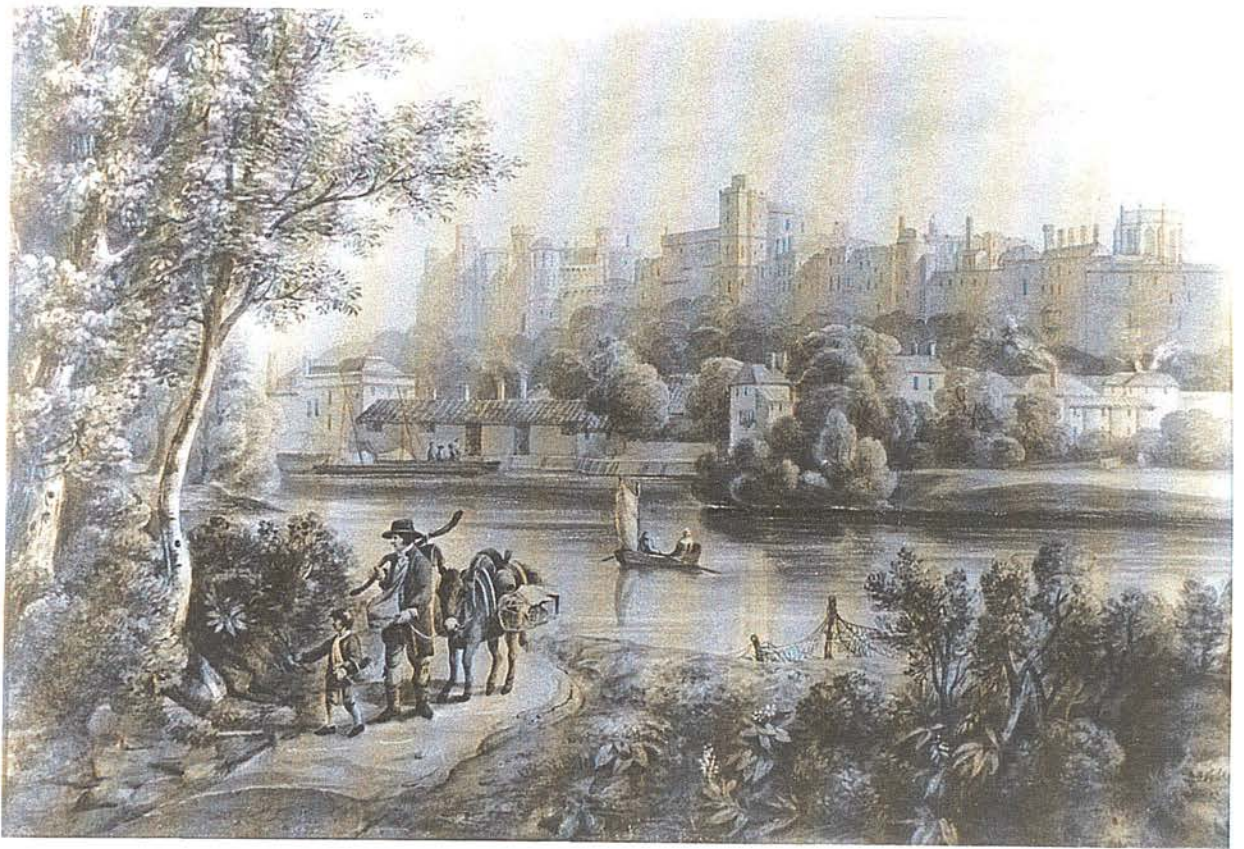


Figure 2:12 WILLIAMS, H. W.: Watercolour, Windsor Castle [PC] p. 149.

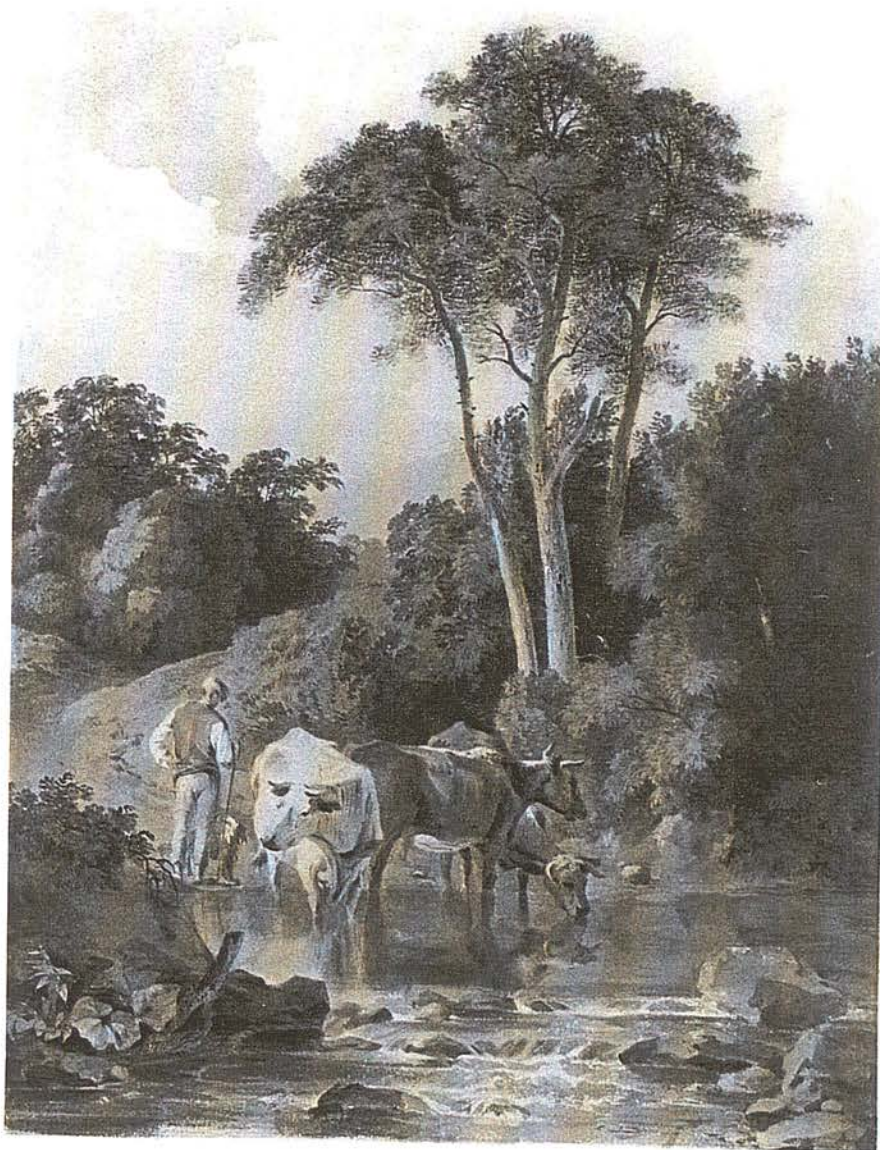


Figure 2:13 WILLIAMS, H. W.: Watercolour, Cowherd [PC] p. 149.

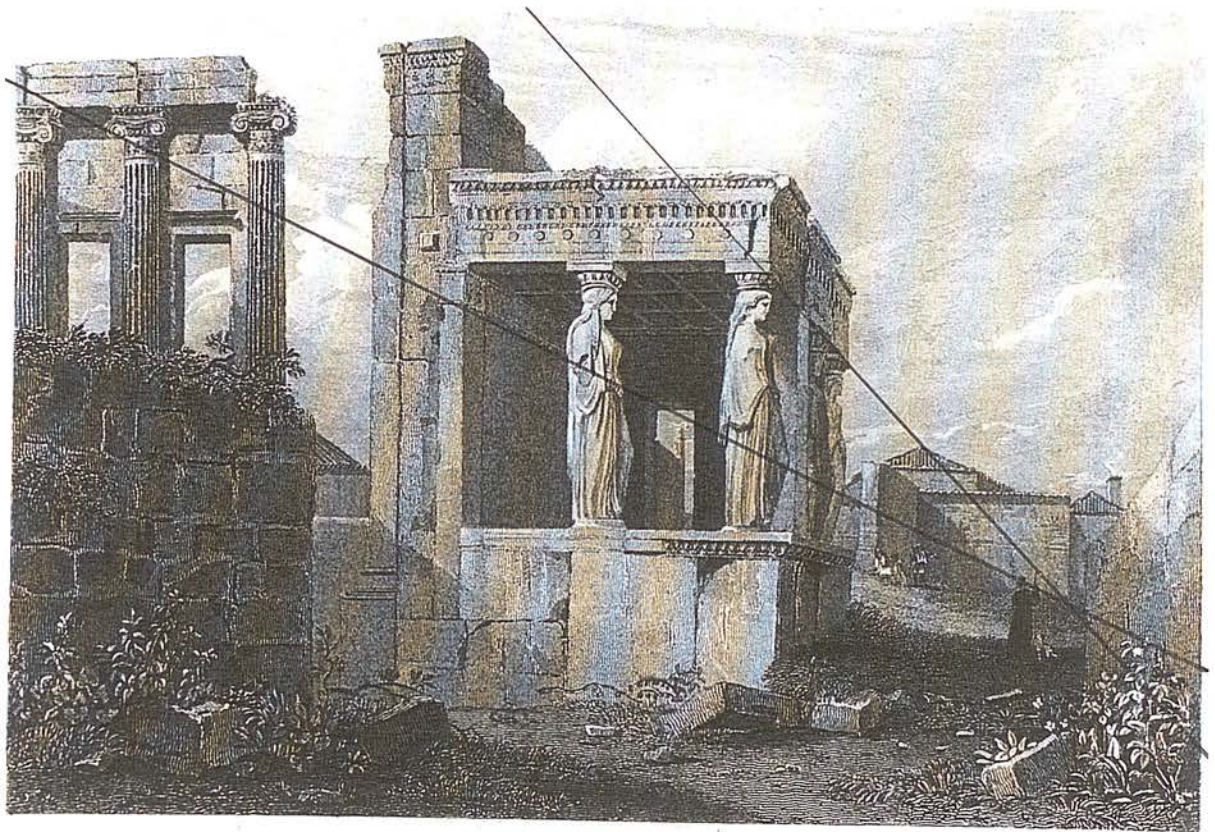


Figure 2:14 STEWART, James, etching after WILLIAMS, H. W.: Temple of Pandrosus, Acropolis of Athens from WILLIAMS, H. W.: Select Views in Greece, Part 6 [September 1826]. With additions by present author, p. 155.

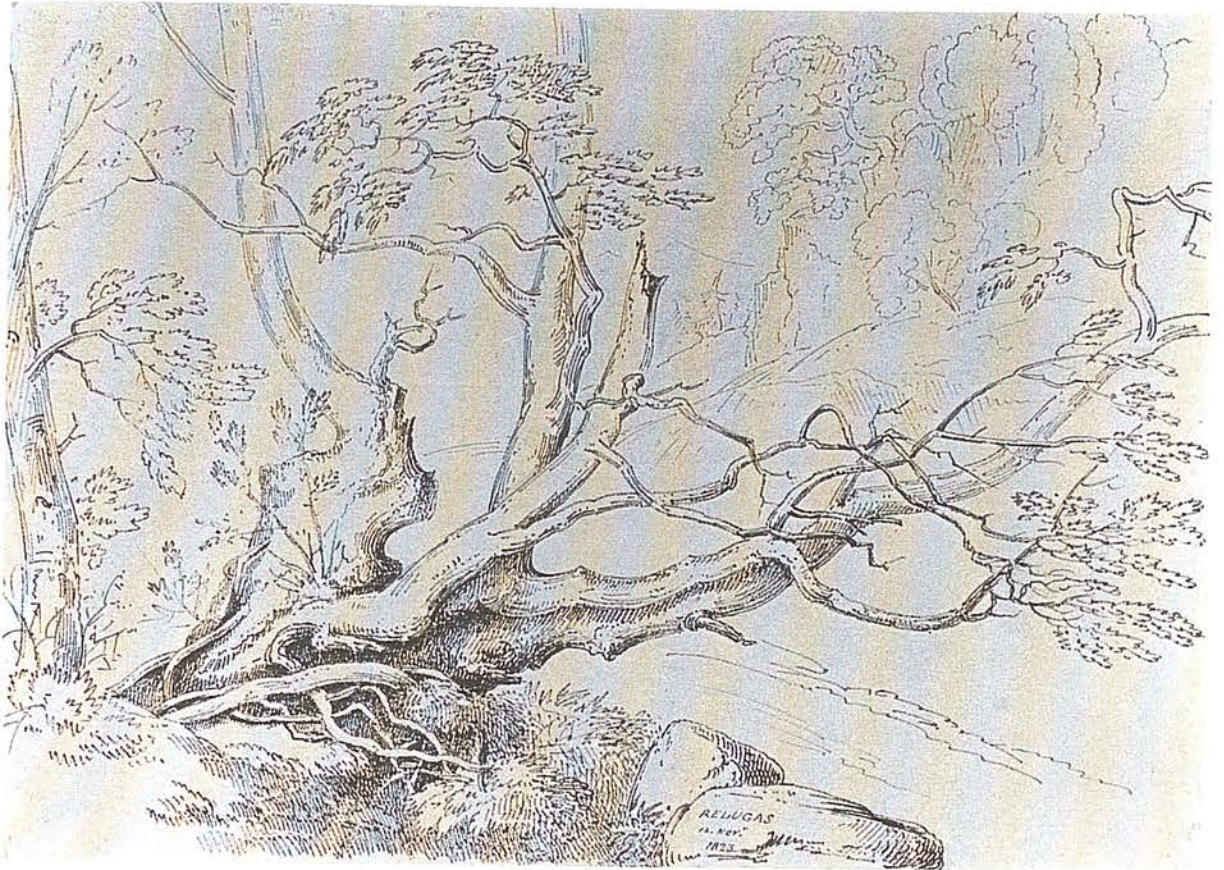


Figure 2:15 WILLIAMS, H. W.: Drawing, Relugas [1823, PC] p. 161.



Figure 2:16 THOMSON, Rev. John: Oil on canvas, Glen of Altnarie [PC] p. 161.



Figure 2:17 Detail of Figure 2:16.



Figure 2:18 WILLIAMS, H. W.: Drawing, Subiaco [PC] p. 162.



Figure 4:1 COOPER, Richard sen.[attrib.]: Watercolour over pencil, Design for a Decorative Scheme [c.1751, NGS] p. 201.



Figure 4:2 COOPER, Richard sen.: Drawing, Male Nude Study [1759, BMAG] p. 202.



Figure 4:3 COOPER, Richard sen.: Etching, Portrait of Prince Charles Edward [1745,

SNPG] p. 205.



Figure 4:4 ADAM, Robert: Etching, Two Trees in a Landscape [PC] p. 205.

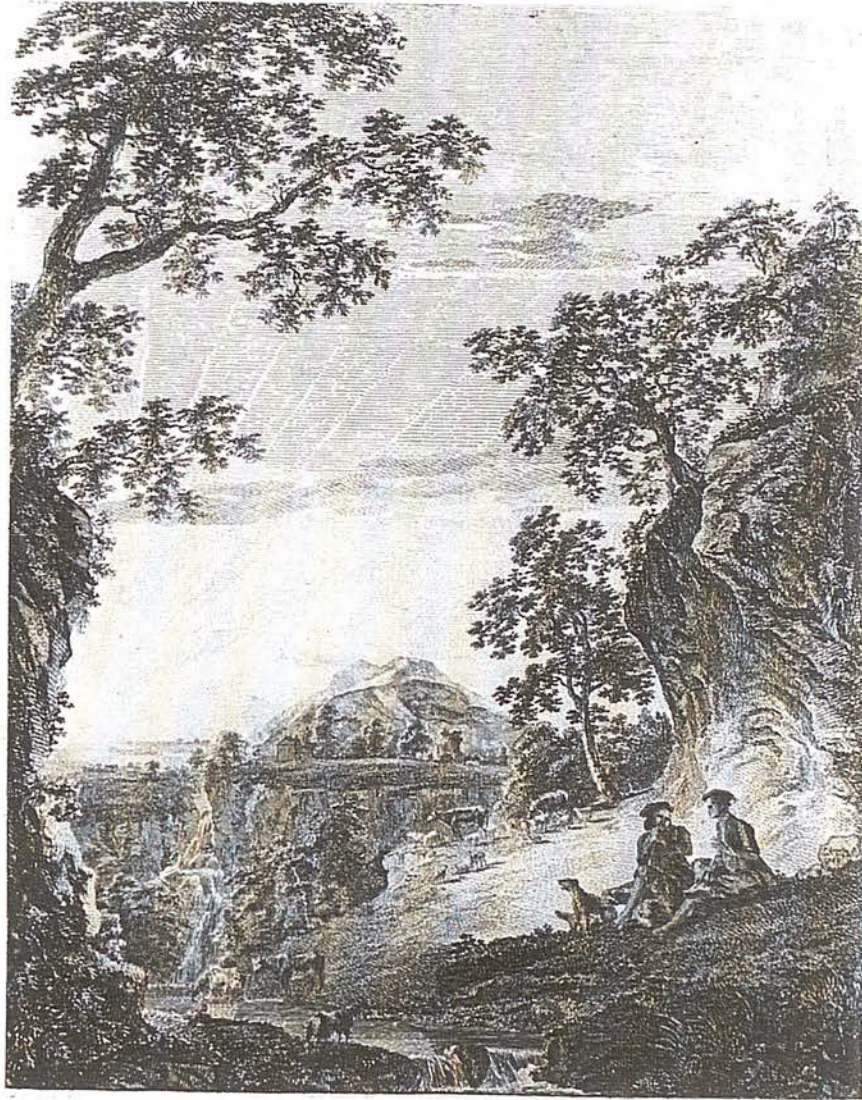


Figure 4:5 SANDBY, Paul: Etching, Composition with Arthur's Seat Edinburgh

[NGS] p. 206.



Figure 4:6 SANDBY, Paul: Etching, Portrait of a Sculptor [YCBA] p. 207.



Figure 4:7 SANDBY, Paul: Watercolour, Distant View of Leith [1747, AM] p. 208.

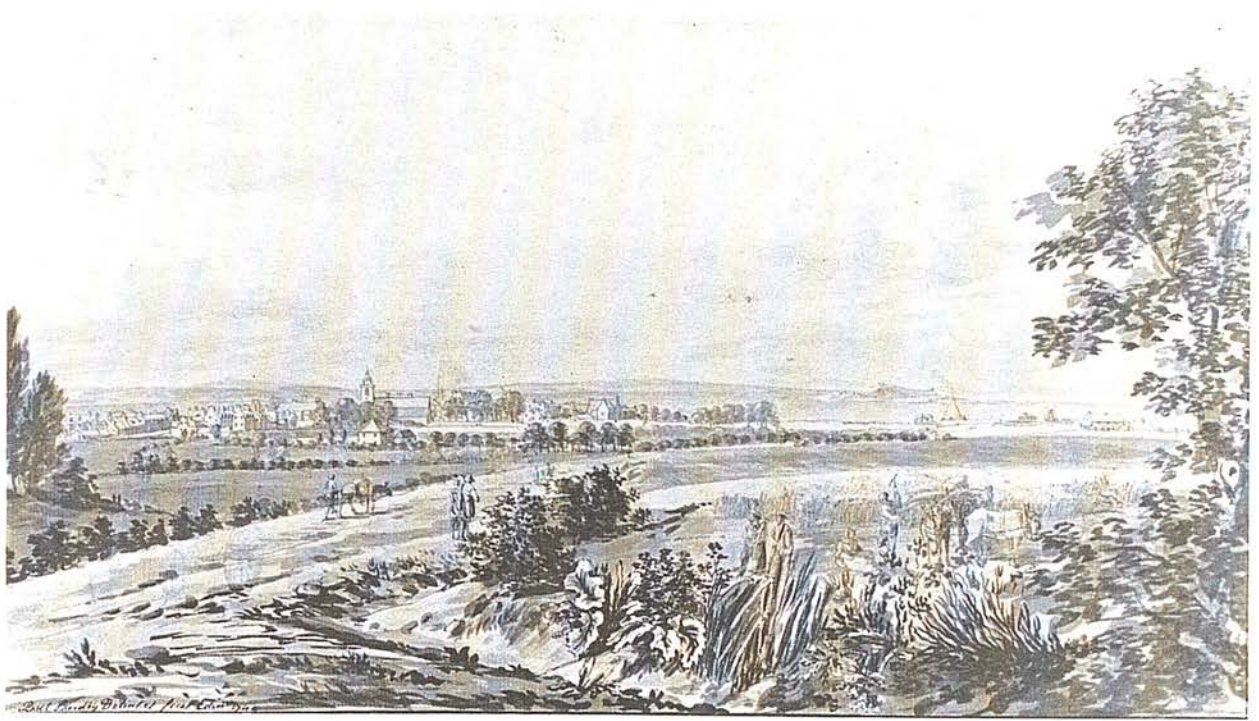


Figure 4:8 SANDBY, Paul: Watercolour, South Prospect of Leith [1749, AM] p. 208.

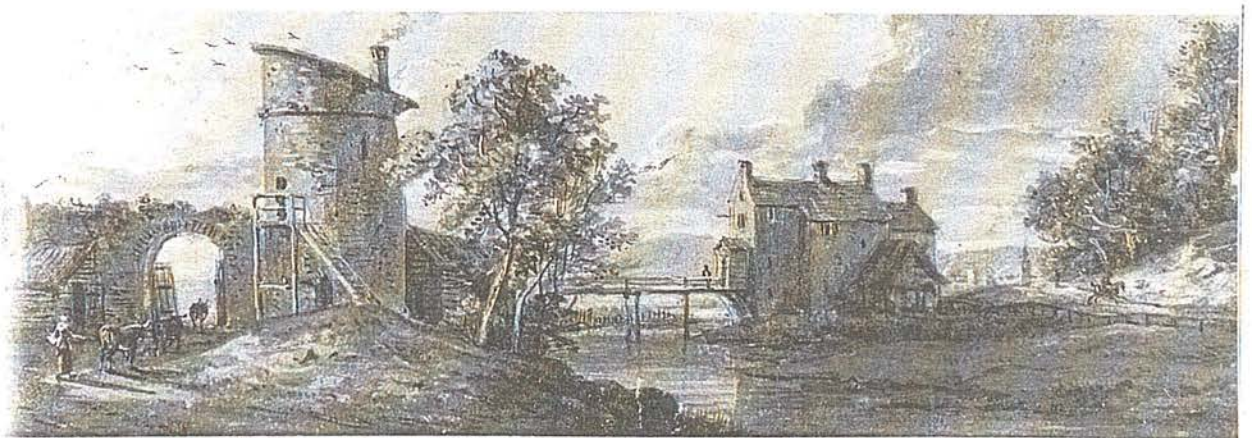


Figure 4:9 SANDBY, Paul: Watercolour, Landscape with mill-house [VAM] p. 208.



Figure 4:10 WILLIAMS, H. W.: Watercolour, New Bothwell Castle from the Clyde

[c.1797, PC] p. 209.



Figure 4:11 ADAM, Margaret: Watercolour, Some Trees in a rocky Landscape [PC]

p. 209.



Figure 4:12 ADAM, Margaret: Watercolour, Landscape of Valley and Crags [PC]

p. 209.

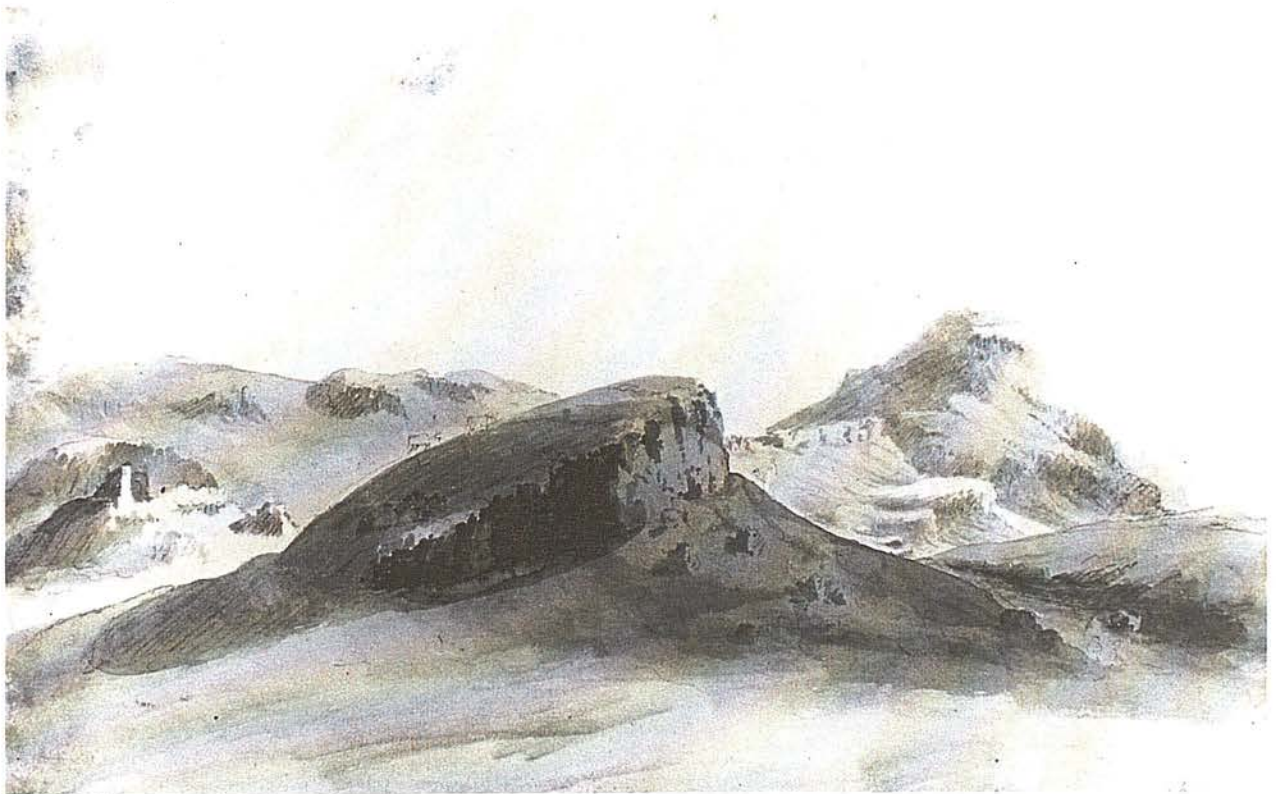


Figure 4:13 ADAM, Margaret: Watercolour, Pencil and Wash Drawing [PC]

p. 209.



Figure 4:14 MORE, Jacob: Watercolour, A rocky Landscape [NGS] p. 211.



Figure 4:15 MORE, Jacob: Watercolour, Waterfall [1773, PC] p. 211.



Figure 4:16 MORE, Jacob: Watercolour, Salisbury Crags and St. Anthony's Chapel,
Edinburgh [NGS] p. 211.

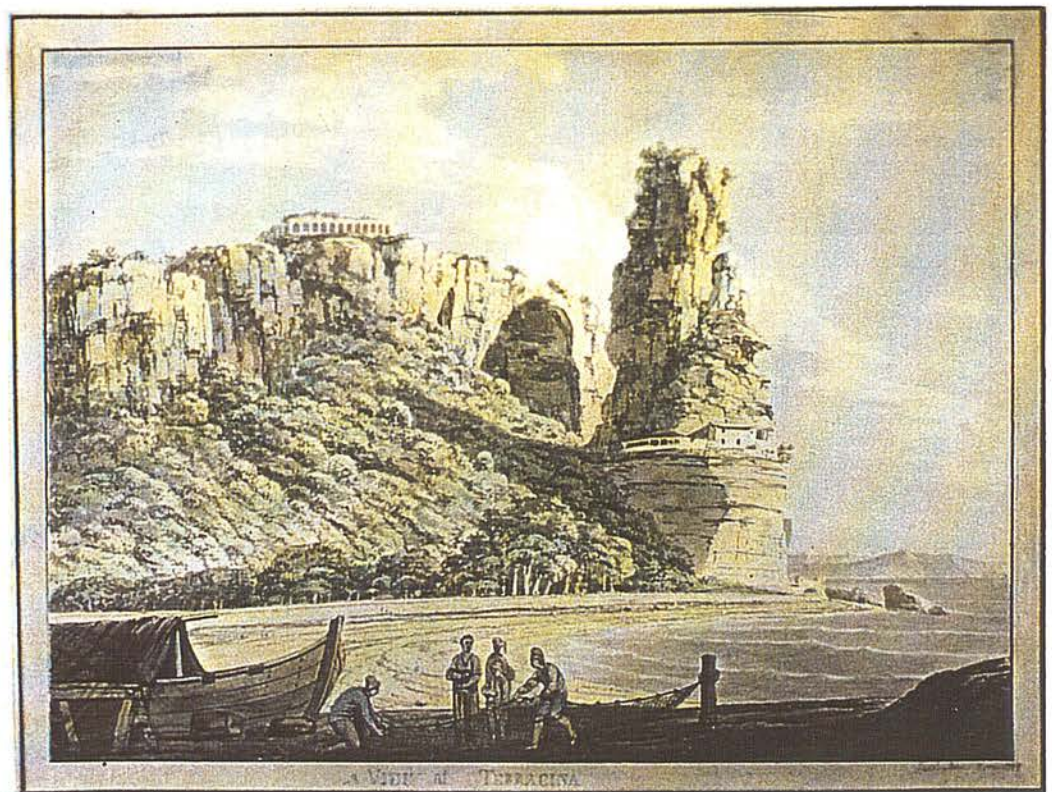


Figure 4:17 MORE, Jacob: Watercolour, A View from Terracina [YCBA] p. 213.

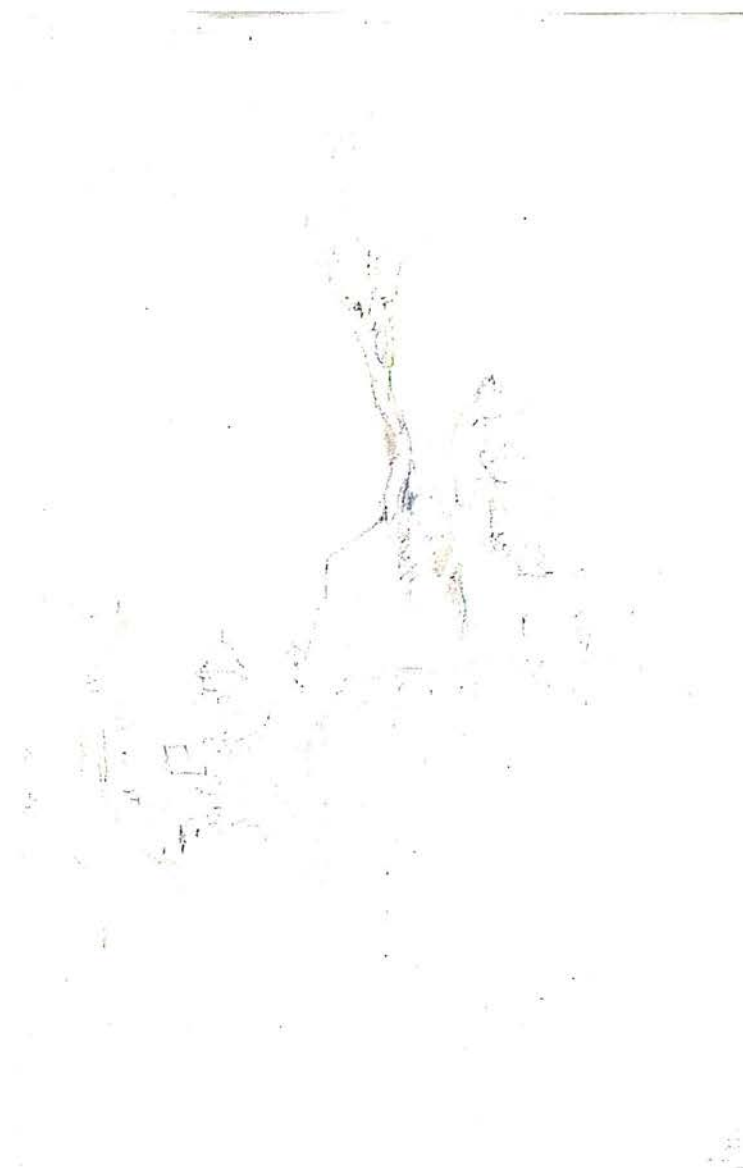


Figure 5:1 TURNER, J. M. W.: Drawing, The Statue of Apollo in the Gardens of the Palazzo Barberini [TG] p. 217.

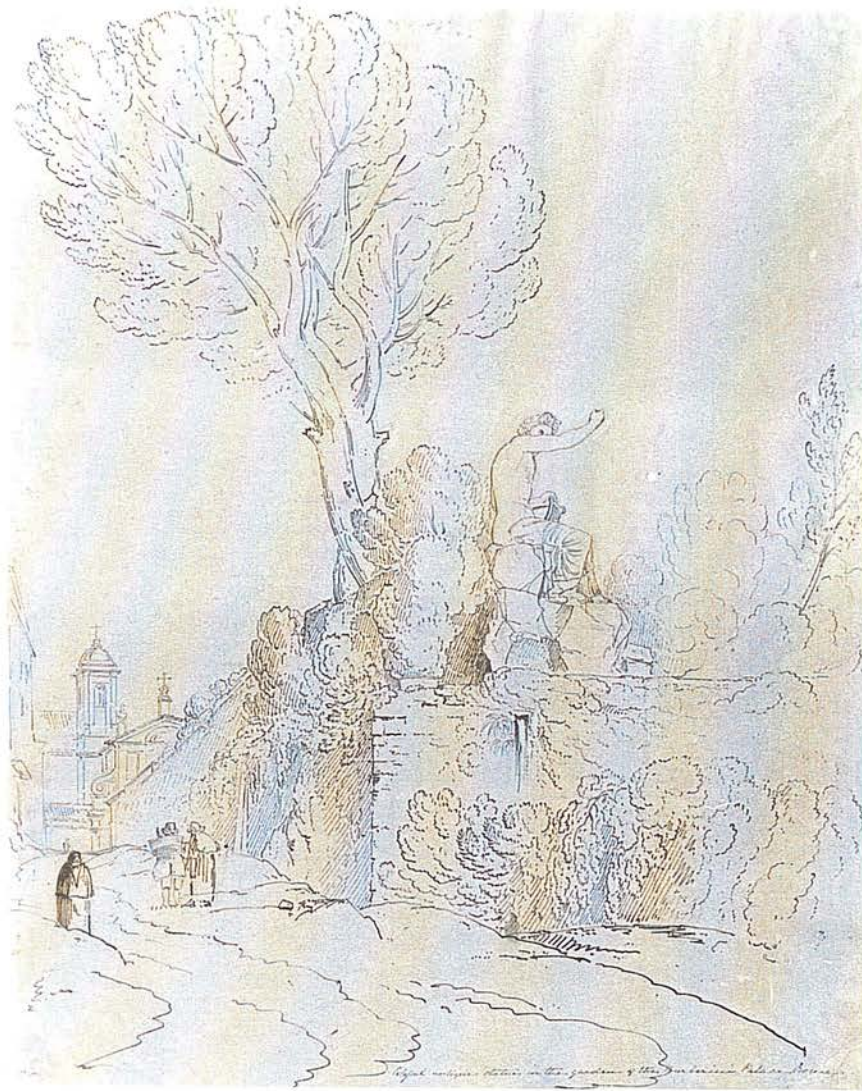


Figure 5:2 WILLIAMS, H. W.: Drawing, The Statue of Apollo in the Gardens of the Palazzo Barberini [PC] p. 217.

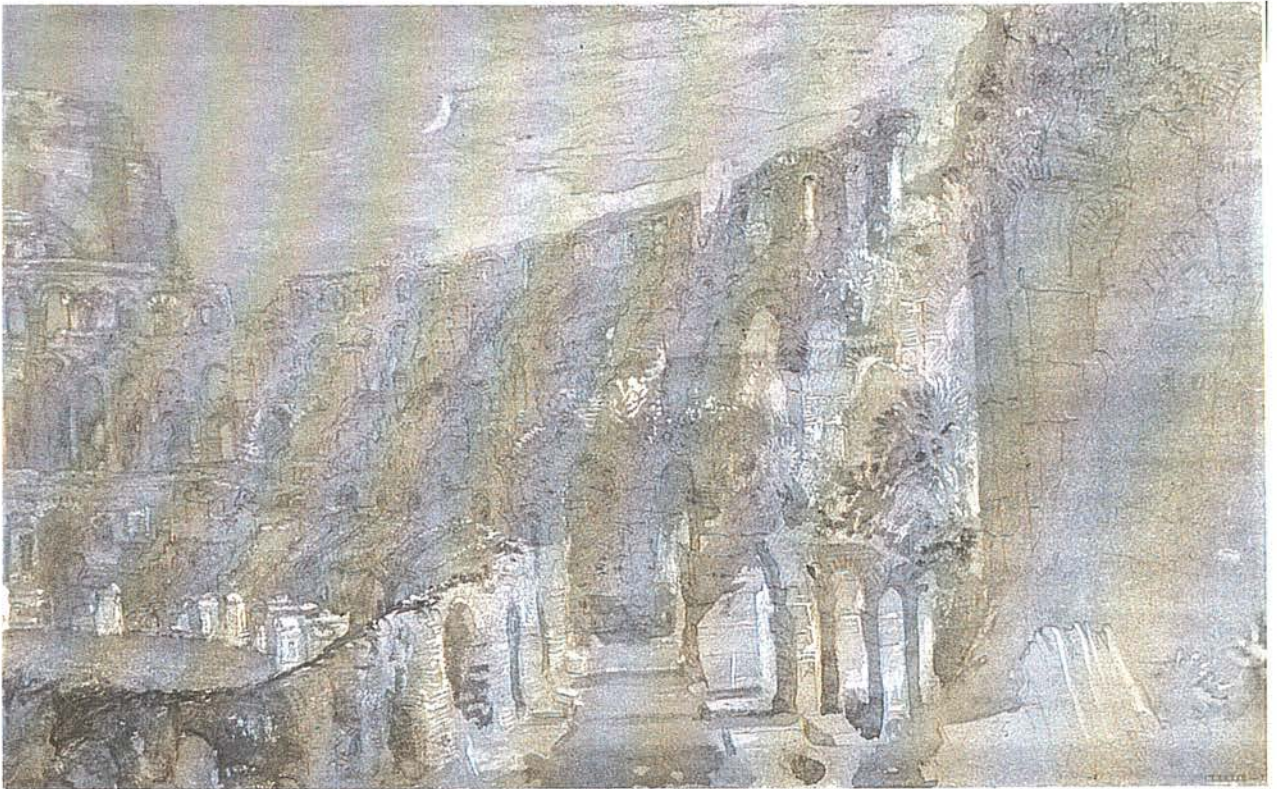


Figure 5:3 TURNER, J. M. W.: Watercolour, Coliseum in Moonlight [TG] p. 218.

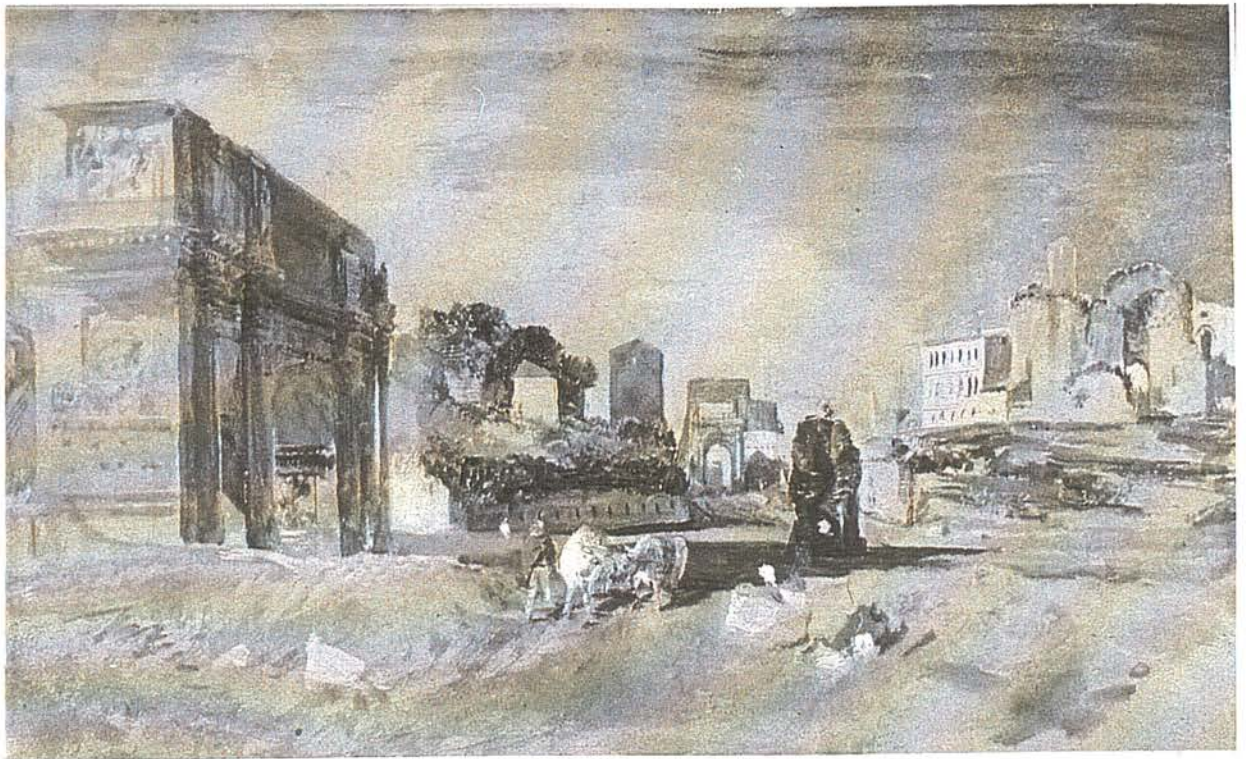


Figure 5:4 TURNER, J. M. W.: Watercolour, The Arches of Constantine and Titus

[TG] p. 218.



Figure 5:5 WILLIAMS, H. W.: Watercolour, The Arch of Constantine [PC] p. 218.